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A PARIS,
Chez { Antoine de Sommauille, en la petite salle, à l'Escu de France. & Augustin Courbé, en la mesme salle, à la Palme } au Palais.
1642

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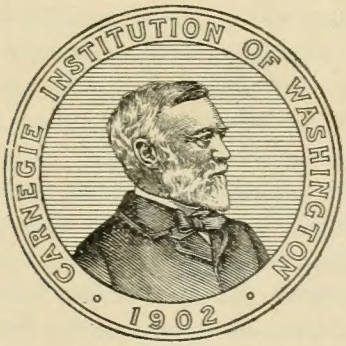
PIERRE DU RYER

DRAMATIST

BY

HENRY CARRINGTON LANCASTER
PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES IN AMHERST COLLEGE



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PREFACE.

The second quarter of the seventeenth century is of vital importance in the history of the French drama. It was then that the form of classic tragedy peculiar to France was created, that the comedy won value by substituting the portrayal of manners for the representation of farcical and romantic adventures, and that the tragi-comedy was at the height of its popularity. Some persons have believed that this period could be sufficiently understood by the consideration of Corneille's theater alone. Others, perceiving the superficiality of this view, have turned to minor writers of the time, and carried on investigations that led to excellent studies of Hardy, Rotrou, Tristan, and Mairet. But Du Ryer, though as important as these, has been neglected. Twelve of his pieces illustrate various forms of the tragi-comedy, from the play of romantic adventure to the classical tragi-comedy with its careful treatment of a few persons in a few situations. His one comedy is an early representation of local conditions and surroundings. His six tragedies, the most valuable and successful of his pieces, were second only to the works of Corneille in establishing the French classic type of tragedy. When studied as a whole, his theater shows a constant progress away from the loose and sensational methods of his predecessors to a simple, united, and profound conception of dramatic art, a process which shows the development of both Du Ryer and his audience through the twenty-five years of his activity as a playwright.

François Colletet's life of Du Ryer is lost. Pellisson, Sorel, the frères Parfaict, Jal, and others have given him little space. Fournier united many of the facts stated by these writers with a number of his own opinions in the introduction to his reprint of Du Ryer's *Vendanges de Suresne.* In spite of its errors, this article[1] remained the principal work on Du Ryer until K. Philipp published a dissertation entitled *Pierre Du Ryers Leben und dra-*

[1] *Théâtre français au seizième et au dix-septième siècle:* Paris (1871), vol. II., 68–75.

matische Werke,[1] which to Fournier's article added analyses and criticisms of the plays and some new facts and ideas, especially in regard to Du Ryer's influence on Campistron. This dissertation is not without merit, as will be shown by subsequent reference, but it is by no means a definitive treatise. Certain documents connected with Du Ryer's life were unknown to its author. He should have studied more carefully those already at hand, including Du Ryer's translations, lyric poems, dedications, etc. His dates are often at fault. He seems to have taken two analyses from La Vallière without having read the plays to which they refer. He is not acquainted with a number of sources that Du Ryer can now be shown to have used, nor does he study with pains the sources with which he is acquainted. His book leaves us without an accurate biography of Du Ryer or a thorough criticism of his plays.

It was with the hope of writing a more informing biography and a more ample criticism that I undertook the present work. It is the result of researches made chiefly at the National, Arsenal, and Mazarine Libraries of Paris, and at the British Museum. I have treated Du Ryer as a dramatist only, using his lyric poems and his translations merely so far as they concern his other work. The biography is followed by four chapters on his twenty pieces, by a general criticism of his dramatic productions, and by two appendices that list his plays and translations in their various editions.[2] The frontispiece and vignettes are taken from a copy of the first edition of Du Ryer's *Saül* (Paris, 1642) in the possession of the Johns Hopkins University, graciously loaned by that institution for reproduction here.

I am indebted to the late Professor A. M. Elliott for his special interest in this book, as well as for the never-failing sympathy he extended to his former students in their various undertakings. For advice and other assistance I wish to thank M. Paul Bonnefon, M. Gustave Lanson, and Professor E. C. Armstrong.

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[1] Zwickau, 1905.

[2] In giving French titles and quotations, I follow the orthography of the original documents except in the case of works as well known as those of Corneille, Racine, and Molière, where the usage of contemporary French has been preferred.

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The plate used as a frontispiece for this volume and the vignettes on the back of this plate and on pages 1 and 170 are reproduced from the first edition of *Saül*, published at Paris in 1642.

PIERRE DU RYER

DRAMATIST

Chapter I.

LIFE.

The name Du Ryer[1] occurs a number of times in seventeenth-century records. André Du Ryer, a native of Burgundy and consul in Egypt, is known for his translation of the Koran and for other contributions to Oriental study.[2] Tallemant des Réaux mentions "la Du Ryer" in the sixth volume of his *Historiettes*. References to a certain Pierre Du Ryer, seigneur de Tillemont, who was *conseiller* and *maître d'hôtel* to the king in 1639 and who died no later than 1645, to his widow, to Magdelaine and Jacque Du Ryer, and to Claude Du Ryer, "trésorier général des Ligues Suisses et Grisons," are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[3] Isaac Du Ryer was a lyric poet who flourished in

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[1] It is usually written Du Ryer or du Ryer, less frequently Duryer, or with an *i* in place of the *y*. That the final *r* was not pronounced is shown by the writing *duriez*, used about 1647 by the second scribe of Mahelot's *Memoire* (MS. fonds fr. 24330 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, p. 5). It is true that at this time *z* was occasionally written for *r* (cf. Rosset, *Les Origines de la prononciation moderne*, Paris, 1911, p. 295), but the scribe in question shows no tendency to such usage, for in the rest of the passage he represents the sound of *r* by *r* fifty-four times, writes *z* in *Songes des hommes esveillez* to show that a preceding *e* is acute, and nowhere uses *z* as a substitute for *r*. Moreover, the name Du Ryer rimes with *acier*, *mestier*, and *laurier* in Isaac Du Ryer's *Temps perdu*, Paris, 1610, 30, 31; with *laurier* in the introductory verses published with Pierre Du Ryer's *Argenis* (Paris, 1631) and his *Traitté de la Prouidence de Dieu* (Paris, 1634), and in Loret's *Muse historique* for December 6, 1659. Although these rimes tend to confirm the evidence of the writing in Mahelot, they would not alone be sufficient to prove the pronunciation, for it is not certain that all common nouns in *-ier* had at this time lost the sound of their final consonant; cf. Thurot, *de la Prononciation française*, Paris, 1883, II, 157, 158.

[2] His *Rudimenta grammatices linguæ turcicæ* was published at Paris in 1630 and 1633; his *Gulistan ou l'empire des roses*, in 1634; his *Alcoran*, in 1647; his *Dictionnaire Turc-Latin* remained in manuscript.

[3] *Pièces originales*, 2482, 1045; *Cabinet d'Hozier*, 125; cf. also Jal, *Dictionnaire critique*, Paris, 1867, p. 1098. The only evidence that the dramatist was related to any of these persons lies in the fact that he and Claude were buried in the same church.

the first third of the seventeenth century. The fact that he was the father of the dramatist is proved by the following considerations.[1]

A sonnet "sur les miseres de la pauureté par le sieur du Ryer, *le pere*" was published in the *Jardin des Muses* in 1640, and, though supposed by Livet,[2] Fournier,[3] and Philipp[4] to have been written by Pierre Du Ryer, was in reality the work of Isaac, in whose *Temps perdu* it had already appeared.[5] It follows that an editor in 1640 believed Isaac to be the father of some other poet named Du Ryer, whose existence necessitated the addition of "le pere" in giving the authorship of the poem. As Isaac and Pierre are the only poets known to have been named Du Ryer, this is good evidence, furnished by one of their contemporaries, that Isaac was the father of Pierre. In the next place, an introductory poem, signed "Petrus Du Ryer," and headed "Patri suo," was published in 1624 with an edition of Isaac's *Temps perdu.*[6] De Beauchamps, after noting this,[7] suggests that "cette remarque peut servir à faire connoître que ce Pierre fils d'Isaac, pourroit être celui qui étoit de l'académie françoise, si connu par ses pieces de théatre et par ses traductions." It may be added that Isaac and Pierre were both Parisians and royal secretaries, and belonged to consecutive generations; that the relationship is believed by the frères Parfaict and other historians of the French theater; that two of Pierre's works, *Lisandre et Caliste* and the *Traitté de la Prouidence de Dieu*, are preceded by complimentary verses signed *I. D.*, the signature used by Isaac for the dedication of his *Heures dérobees.*

Isaac Du Ryer is known chiefly through his works. He published the *Temps perdu*[8] in 1608, 1609, 1610, and 1624; the *Vengeance des satyres, pastorelle auec quelques meslanges du mesme autheur* in 1614 and 1631; the *Mariage d'amour, pastorelle*, in 1621 and 1631; the *Heures dérobees* in 1633. The pastorals[9]

[1] Philipp, *Pierre Du Ryers Leben*, 5, would prove this by an unsigned statement written by hand in a copy of Isaac Du Ryer's *Temps perdu* in the Arsenal Library.

[2] *Histoire de l'Académie française*, Paris, 1858, I, 301. He quotes the sonnet in full, as do his two followers. [3] *Théâtre français*, II, 72. [4] *Op. cit.*, 8.

[5] Page 36, Sonnet XI in the edition of 1609; page 114, Sonnet XI in that of 1610.

[6] The poem is not in the editions of 1609 and 1610, but it appears in the edition of 1624, a copy of which is in the British Museum.

[7] *Recherches*, Paris, 1735, II, 82.

[8] Cf. Lachèvre, *Bibliothèque des Recueils collectifs de Poésies*, Paris, 1903, II, 276.

[9] For further criticism see Marsan, *La Pastorale dramatique en France*, Paris, 1905, 299, 312, 313, 507–509.

are slight, written to be played by children, as the author states in his prologue to the *Mariage d'amour*. Although he would have us believe that his characters speak the language of the people, most of the work is as artificial as other pastorals. His lyrics are of greater worth and interest us more particularly by showing something of Isaac's nature and the kind of life he led.

He was a courtier as well as poet, *secretaire de la chambre du roy*, and secretary to the *grand écuyer*, Roger, duc de Bellegarde. When he lost the favor of this nobleman, he was employed as clerk at the customs-house of the Saint-Paul quay, where he received only ten *écus* a month.[1] He bore his poverty, now with bitterness, now with humorous fortitude. Among his friends were the poets Hodey[2] and Tristan l'Hermite, and the actress Isabella Andreini, whom he urges to stay in France, for "Paris vaut bien Italie."[3] Alexandre Hardy, to whom he writes in hostile spirit, was probably an acquaintance.[4] He speaks of himself as an old man in 1633,[5] and probably died not long after:

> "Ie n'estois pas encore en l'Auril de mon aage
> Qu'un peu de naturel me mit les vers en main,
> Ayant l'esprit porté tellement à l'ouurage
> Que sur quoy que ce fust ie rimois tout soudain."[5]

The characteristics of the improvisations Isaac mentions here are apparent in his poems. He is clever, careless, trivial. He seldom attempts large themes. His love poems are conventional and coarse; his prayers and verses on death move us little; his lines to Henri IV, Marie de Médicis, Louis XIII, and various nobles show that he was a professional flatterer. Yet there is a sincere note in his outbursts against poverty and neglect, a very real delight in life and friends as soon as fortune smiles at Vaugirard or Saint-Germain. He was jovial, witty, bibulous, tender-hearted, as ready to advise his friends as he was slow to set them a difficult example.

His influence on his son could be variously exerted. Several of his poems show interest in children; one, to his niece Françoise, a nun at Longchamp, real affection. He was probably an in-

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[1] Cf. Goujet, *Bibliothèque françoise*, Paris, 1751–1756, XV, 276–286.
[2] For Hodey cf. Lachèvre, *Bibliothèque des Recueils*, I, 206, 379.
[3] *A Isabelle comedienne* in the *Temps perdu*.
[4] *Les Heures dérobees*, 29, 30; cf. *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1909.
[5] Sonnet to Tristan in *Les Heures dérobees*.

dulgent father, who introduced his son at court as well as to his literary friends and boon companions. He may have given Pierre an early taste for playwriting and verse-making, for a number of the latter's lyrics are on the same themes as his own, and Pierre's first recorded production was a Latin poem in his father's praise. Isaac probably also instilled into him his religious faith, his devotion to the king and the great nobles, his ability to bear poverty, his *esprit gaulois*. The dignity and regularity found in the son's work may be due in part to the classical training that his father must have encouraged. He undoubtedly provided him with an environment that early attracted him into literature.

Nothing is known of Isaac's ancestors, or of the members of his family, except his niece Françoise and his son Pierre. Niceron[1] states that Pierre came of good stock, which some called noble. In a legal document of 1627,[2] he is referred to as "ayant droict par declaration de noble homme." The notice of his burial calls him an *escuyer*.[3] Moreover, the office of secretary to the king is known to have carried with it nobility for the holder and his descendants.[4] We may therefore conclude that Isaac and Pierre Du Ryer belonged to the petty aristocracy, which was but slightly removed from the *bourgeoisie*.

The time and place of Pierre's birth are uncertain. That he was born at Paris may be inferred from the fact that his father lived there, and that he was himself frequently referred to as a Parisian. No contemporary gave the date of his birth. Writing in 1733, Niceron stated that he was born in 1605, and de Beauchamps, the frères Parfaict, Voltaire,[5] Léris, and La Vallière agreed. Jal[3] found no document referring to his birth. In 1694 Moréri[6] declared that he died November 6, 1658, "âgé de 53 ans," but in 1732, under the influence of Bayle,[7] the date of his death is changed to 1656, and the date of his birth moved back to 1603. In order to make Du Ryer old enough to write *Aretaphile* in 1618, Fournier[8] would change the date of his birth to 1600.

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[1] *Mémoires pour servir, etc.*, Paris, 1733, XXII, 342.

[2] Bibliothèque Nationale, *Pièces originales*, 2482. [3] Jal, *Dictionnaire*, 1098

[4] Guyot et Merlin, *Traité des droits, fonctions, etc.*, Paris, 1786–88, IV, 289; I, 598.

[5] *Œuvres* (Moland's edition), Paris, 1885, XIV, 70; the other authors in their histories of the French theater.

[6] *Le grand Dictionnaire historique*, Amsterdam.

[7] *Dictionnaire historique*, Rotterdam, 1697, pp. 940, 941.

[8] *Théâtre français*, II, 68.

Now as this dating for *Aretaphile* is incorrect, Fournier's argument is worthless, but his conclusion is probably sound. Pierre Du Ryer will be shown to have been secretary to the king as early as February 18, 1621, and consequently could hardly have been born later than 1600. This evidence is strengthened by the fact that he published a Latin poem in 1624, and that Vigneul-Marville[1] towards 1653 described him as being in his *vieillesse.* On the other hand, he was not born much earlier than 1600, for his first publication of any length, made in 1630, appears to be a work of his youth, from the immaturity of the style and structure, from the fact that most of his dramatic contemporaries began to publish before they were thirty, and that it would be strange if so prolific a writer as Du Ryer were an exception in this matter. 1600 is, then, the probable date of his birth.

Nothing is known of Pierre's childhood except what may be gathered from his later life and his father's character. He was probably brought up at Paris, learned to know poverty and to bear it cheerfully, to respect authority, to be a good Catholic, to take interest in lyric poetry and the drama, to be acceptable to the great, both as secretary and as literary entertainer. Niceron[2] says that he studied well, but gives no authority for the statement. It is evident from his subsequent work as a translator that he had good training in Latin. He probably studied law, for he later has the title of "aduocat en parlement."[3] He must also have had the equipment required by his position as secretary to the king, which meant, according to the rulings of Charles IX and Henri III, that he had proved satisfactorily his "bonnes vie, mœurs, religion, conversation catholique, suffisance et capacité," and that he exercised no "train et trafic de marchandise, banque, ferme, ou autre négociation vile et mécanique."[4]

The first direct evidence concerning his life relates to his position as secretary to the king. There is reason to believe that his father, who was *secretaire de la chambre du roy* in 1614, ceded this office to him not later than February, 1621; that shortly thereafter Pierre gave up this title for that of *conseiller*

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[1] *Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature*, Rotterdam, 1700, I, 194.

[2] *Mémoires pour servir, etc.*, XXII, 342.

[3] Cf. Jal, *Dictionnaire*, 1098, and the privilege to Du Ryer's translation of Salvianus, 1633, and of de Thou, 1654.

[4] Guyot et Merlin, *Traité des droits*, IV, 234, *seq.*

et secretaire du roy et de ses finances; and that he continued to perform the duties of this office until the end of 1633, when he sold it on account of his marriage and his increased literary activity. Some of these conclusions are more certain than others. Their truth may be judged from the following facts.

D'Olivet[1] declares that Du Ryer "fut pourvu d'une charge de secrétaire du Roi; mais ayant fait un mariage d'inclination, il revendit cette charge en 1633." This biographer is followed by Titon du Tillet,[2] Niceron,[3] de Beauchamps,[4] the frères Parfaict,[5] and Goujet.[6] The statements are confirmed by the facts that Isaac Du Ryer was *secretaire de la chambre du roy* in 1614,[7] that the secretaryship could be resigned in favor of a son,[8] that Pierre was subsequently secretary to the king's brother, the duc de Vendôme, and retained the title of *conseiller du roy*, and especially by the evidence of nine receipts preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[9]

The first of these receipts runs as follows:

"Je Pierre Du Ryer, secretaire de la chambre du Roy ayant droict par transport de Mr Jehan Le quint confesse auoir receu de Mr Flamin Fanuche conseiller dudict sieur Recepueur general et payeur des rentes constituees sur les receptes generalles la somme de six liures cinq sols pour le quartier de Juillet aoust Septembre de l'an 1604 a cause de 25 liures tournois de rente constituees a Batholemy Passart le 10 Juillet 1570, de laquelle somme de 6 liures 5 sols Je me tiens contant et bien payé et en quitte ledict Sr Fanuche susdict et tous autres. Tesmoing mon seing ci mis a Paris le 18 jour de Feburier 1621.

"DU RYER P."

[1] Livet, *Histoire de l'Académie française*, I, 300.

[2] *Le Parnasse françois*, Paris, 1732, p. 249.

[3] *Mémoires pour servir, etc.*, XXII, 342.

[4] *Recherches*, II, 109.

[5] *Histoire du théâtre françois*, Paris, 1734, *seq.*, IV, 535.

[6] *Bibliothèque*, XVI, 255. These writers give 1626 as the date of his becoming secretary to the king, which is shown to be incorrect by the receipts mentioned below.

[7] Cf. the title-page of his *Vengeance des Satyres*, Paris, 1614.

[8] Guyot et Merlin, *Traité des droits*, IV, 302.

[9] *Pièces originales*, 2482 and 2598. The only other Pierre Du Ryer known to have lived at this time was "seigneur de Tillemont, conseiller et maistre d'hostel ordinaire du Roy," whose widow signed two documents in 1639 and 1645, preserved in *Pièces originales*, 2482. As Tillemont was dead in 1639, he can not be the dramatist we are studying. As there is no evidence to show that he was secretary to the king, and as there is considerable proof that the dramatist held this office, it seems clear that the receipts which refer to Pierre Du Ryer have to do with the son of Isaac, for it is extremely improbable that there were two men called Pierre Du Ryer simultaneously secretary to the king.

The next four receipts are much like this one and are dated February 20, June 22, July 19 and 22 of the same year, 1621. It is worthy of note that in all of them Du Ryer is called *secretaire de la chambre du roy*, exactly the title that his father had in 1614. As Isaac Du Ryer is not given this title in his *Mariage d'amour*, published in 1621, nor in his *Heures dérobees* of 1633, it seems probable that he resigned the position in favor of his son as early as February, 1621, though it is possible that he continued to keep it after his son's appointment. But Pierre must soon have changed his position for that of *conseiller et secretaire du Roy et de ses finances*, for the four remaining receipts, dated June 9, 1627, July 1 and November 6, 1628, and September 24, 1633, give him the latter title. From these receipts it is learned that he was also "porteur des lettres de prouision de l'office de comptrolleur et garde des grandes et petites mesures au grenier a sel de Baieux," and that he received eight hundred livres in payment for his services from the beginning of October, 1625, through September, 1627. In 1623 he bought from the government the right to sell ten "offices de sergens des aydes et tailles de l'eslection d'Arques, generalité de Rouen," for which he was reimbursed to the extent of 1909 livres when these offices were abolished. The date of the last receipt shows that he held his office till September 24, 1633, but he must have sold it soon after, for d'Olivet and later biographers set 1633 as the date of this sale. He became secretary to the Duke of Vendôme the following year, and no mention of him as secretary to the king subsequently occurs. We learn also from one of the receipts that in 1627 he was described as "noble homme Pierre du Rier Sieur de Paracy conseiller et secretaire du Roy et de ses finances demeurant a Paris rue des Francs bourgeois paroisse sainct geruais."[1]

It seems, then, that after studying the classics, and perhaps law, Pierre succeeded his father in his position as *secretaire de la chambre du roy*, having to "servir sa majesté dans ses dépêches,"[2] and that later he became "conseiller et secretaire du roy et de ses finances," with the duty of drawing up and signing "les lettres qui s'expédient à la grande Chancellerie,"[3] an office where the official letters were sealed with the great seal. He made

[1] The fact that he was buried in Saint-Gervais helps to confirm this statement.
[2] Guyot et Merlin, *Traité des droits*, I, 598.
[3] *Ibidem*, IV, 234.

at least one financial venture, was acknowledged a member of the nobility, and lived at Paris, rue des Francs Bourgeois.

That he was not too busy to be interested in literature is shown by his publishing, according to a pedantic fashion of the time, three short Latin poems, as an introduction to the edition of his father's *Temps perdu* that appeared in 1624. The verses are precious and bombastic. Filial affection and the conventions of introductory poems furnish their only justification. They run as follows:

Patri suo.

Quis mihi mendaci narrabit carmine vates,
Inuictas victi temporis esse manus?
Cùm tempus solitis vincat tua musa sagitis,
Et vinctum Aonio cogat adesse libro.
Sic penetras, ô Musa potens, venientia secla,
Nam te, deuicto tempore, quid retinet?

Distichon eidem.

Qui colitis tempus, vestros reuocetis honores,
Nam victum tempus Musa parentis habet.

Aliud.

Temporis amissi nomen tua[1] musa repellat
Deuicti meritò nomen habere potest.

PETRUS DU RYER.

Du Ryer continued to write occasional verse through this first period of his life. Only forty poems remain, besides his complimentary lines to contemporary dramatists. Three were published at Paris in 1629, in a volume of only thirteen pages, entitled *Dialogue de la Digue et de la Rochelle*[2]; twenty-two in 1630,[3] with his *Argenis et Poliarque;* sixteen with his *Lisandre et Caliste* in 1632. Although many of his subjects resemble those treated by his father, there is no evidence of direct imitation. Like Isaac he appears strongly monarchical and Catholic, a good friend, fond of wine, a lover whose morality troubles him little. The picture of Du Ryer as the frugal, hard-working husband and author does not fit several of his early poems. He appears to

[1] *Tuu* in the original.

[2] This work has been overlooked by all of Du Ryer's biographers. Its mention here is due to the fact that the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale has at last reached Du Ryer's name.

[3] One of these is a reprint of the sonnet at the end of the *Dialogue.*

have passed through a somewhat dissipated youth before his marriage, though possessing neither wealth nor beauty, according to the poem in which he longs for two thousand *écus* in order to win his mistress, who would then be indifferent neither to his carriage nor to his countenance, although they are "sans grace."[1]

The *Dialogue de la Digue* contains a *Prosopopee de la Digue au Roy* in sonnet form, the *Dialogue* proper, consisting of twenty-two stanzas delivered alternately by the *Digue* and La Rochelle, and another sonnet entitled *Prosopopee de la Rochelle aux mutins du Royaume.* The sonnets rejoice in the capture of the city and advise other rebels to surrender as she has done. In the principal poem, the *Digue* boasts of her loyalty to the king and the services she has rendered in the capture of La Rochelle, described as "l'horreur de la France et l'espoir des Enfers." In reply, the city reproaches and warns the *Digue*, laments her losses, and praises Louis. The poem is a panegyric in honor of the king and the cardinal for their recent capture of La Rochelle, starved into surrender by the erection of the celebrated dike. No serious effort is made to describe the appearance of the captured city, or to interpret the actual sentiments of its inhabitants.

Other poems connected with the religious wars are found in the second collection. In *Neptune a la Rochelle*, the god tells how vain it is to help the city against the king of France. An ode rejoices in the defeat of the rebels and the return of peace; an epigram praises a "feu d'artifice bruslé deuant le Louvre," apparently in celebration of a victory; and a sonnet describes the king's greatness.

In the third collection lines are addressed to the queen-mother on the capture of Privas and the general victory of her party, Richelieu is praised, and the Sultan is described as alarmed lest the king should invade the "campagnes de l'Idumee." Finally, an echo of the war is found in a poem on the death of the baron de Valencé, addressed to the mareschal de la Chastre,[2] whom Du Ryer seeks to comfort for the loss of their friend. A Cornelian line is worthy of notice:

> "Les appas immortels des ames genereuses
> Ne craignent point le sort."

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[1] Third collection, pp. 238, 239.

[2] To him Du Ryer also addressed an ode and dedicated *Argenis et Poliarque* and *Argenis.*

A larger number of these poems have to do with love, a sentiment at times polite, at others coarse, never passionate or spiritualized. The lines written to Daphnide, Syluie, and Amarante, the heroines of Du Ryer's second collection, are precious and uninspired. He is more earnest in the third, where he addresses Calliste and Olinde. The former, who may owe her name to his *Lisandre et Caliste*, delights him by responding to his passion, or saddens him by her absence. The latter seeks a rich husband and will have none of Du Ryer, marries, and is reproached for yielding to her husband embraces that belong to the poet, for

"L'honneur n'est rien qu'vne chimere,
Chacun le peint à sa façon;
Pour moy ie le peins en garçon,
Qui s'enfuit libertin loin des bras de sa mere
Et rit de sa leçon."

Du Ryer's poems on nature are exercises in polite writing. Even when he shows observation, his style is too abstract to attempt a picture, except, perhaps, in his description of the country "par le haut Viuarés":

"Quelques raues sont la moisson,
La plus riche que l'on y cueille,
Les logis y sont de façon
Qu'vn toict fait de genet y couure vn lict de fueille."

Fanaticism marks the *Stances à l'Eglise*, *Le Religieux a ceux du monde*, and the poems against the Huguenots. Du Ryer has no doubt about a future of fire and torture for those who fail to follow the Church's teachings, and he prefers to earthly glory the peace of retirement from the world. The last idea is more eloquently expressed in his elegiac *Stances a Damon contre la vanité du temps:*

"Tout tombe sous sa dent meurtriere,
Homere et Virgile sont morts,
Et leurs escripts comme leurs corps,
Yront vn iour dessous la biere:
L'homme n'estant point immortel,
Ne sçauroit faire rien de tel. . .

Viuons loin de ces soins estranges
Les plus aises que nous pourrons,
Que si tandis que nous viurons
L'on nous donne quelques loüanges,
Iouïssons alors de ce bien,
Car apres nous n'en sentons rien."

Despite these counsels of moderation and contentment, Du Ryer evidently longs for fame, and is working to win it. He confides to a friend that, when he fails, he has as a remedy "le verre et la bouteille."

On the whole, the poems show few of the higher lyric qualities. Du Ryer is concerned chiefly with monarchical notions, gallantry, or purely physical love. There is little of the dignity and elevation attained by his best dramatic work. His feeling is not intense. He shows small imagination or power of concrete description. *Le soleil, filets d'or, les fleurs, les rochers* are the objects he uses for comparisons. An eclipse furnishes his most elaborate simile.[1] His lines are neither harmonious nor free from *chevilles*. He is best in his elegiac passages, and never attempts a song. The value of the poems lies in the light they throw on sides of Du Ryer's character that are not shown by his objective dramas. Their service to him may have been practical in advancing his interests at court, and must have been developing, as they gave him a fairly wide range[2] of subject, tone, and meter for the practice of his talent.

In this connection should be mentioned the conventional poems which Du Ryer wrote to his friends in flattery of their dramatic work.[3] They occur before *Agimee* (1629) by S. B.[4]; Scudéry's *Ligdamon et Lidias* (1631) and *Trompeur puny* (1635); Mareschal's *Genereuse Allemande* (1630) and *Sœur valeureuse* (1634); la Charnays's *Bocages* (1632),[5] Auvray's *Madonte* (1632), Rayssiguier's *Amours d'Astree et de Celadon* (1630), and Corneille's *Veuve* (1634). The last poem, which illustrates this parlor poetry satisfactorily, runs as follows:

"Ta veuve s'est assez cachée,
Ne crains point de la mettre au jour;
Tu sais bien qu'elle est recherchée
Par les mieux sensés de la cour.
Déjà des plus grands de la France,

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[1] Second collection, p. 122.

[2] Goujet, *Bibliothèque*, XVI, 253, 254, calls attention to the fact that he writes odes, sonnets, elegies, epigrams, and *stances*. He holds that "plusieurs ne manquent ni de force, ni de génie, ni de style poëtique," and singles out the *Stances à l'Eglise* as worthy of special note.

[3] With these must be included his reply to Poncet's complimentary verses, which is published before his *Argenis*.

[4] Is this Simon Bassin, who wrote complimentary verses to Du Ryer?

[5] Cf. Marsan, *La Pastorale dramatique*, 407.

Dont elle est l'heureuse espérance,
Les cœurs lui sont assujettis,
Et leur amour est une preuve
Qu'une si glorieuse Veuve
Ne peut manquer de bons partis."[1]

It is in this period that Du Ryer's dramatic work begins. With his father's example and encouragement he soon gained an important place in the new generation of dramatists, who were beginning to substitute for Hardy's type of play a form that possessed greater clarity of style, regularity of plot, and care in the study of character. A detailed criticism of the tragi-comedies which formed Du Ryer's contribution to this movement will be given in the next chapter. At present I note only the evidence they give concerning his noble and literary friends. *Argenis et Poliarque* is dedicated to la Chastre, governor of Berri and mareschal de France; *Argenis*, to the latter's wife, Louise Henriette; *Lisandre et Caliste*, to the duchesse de Longueville, daughter of Charles de Bourbon-Soissons and first wife of Henri II, duc de Longueville, whose second wife was the famous duchess of the Fronde. Among his friends who write to him in terms of extravagant flattery is especially to be noted Guillaume Colletet,[2] who ends his sonnet with:

"Apollon t'a si bien ses secrets decouuerts
Que si l'histoire vn iour dit du bien de nostre âge
Ce sera seulement à cause de tes vers."

The dramatists, Pichou, Rayssiguier, and Auvray, also write to Du Ryer as their friend. To these may be added L. Longuet, Parisien; Louis Maudit,[3] author of poems called *Narcisse, Isabelle, les Deuotions*, and friend of Corneille, Hodey, and Colletet; I. Villeneuve; Anceaume; Simon Bassin, "conseiller et aumonier de leurs majestés," who was chaplain to Anne d'Autriche and known by his sermons, odes, and a tragi-comedy; Voille de Bruyeres, who wrote complimentary verses to Corneille as well; Bonnet, a nephew of Pierre Motin; E. Poncet, who published in 1630 a sonnet on the death of Scévole de Sainte-Marthe.[4] Besides these poets who wrote verses to him, Du Ryer had for

[1] *Grands Ecrivains, Corneille*, I, 383.

[2] The *Catalogue de Soleinne*, Paris, 1843, I, no. 1006, mentions a copy of Du Ryer's *Alcionée*, with "envoi autographe signé: pour mon cher amy monsieur Colletet."

[3] Cf. Goujet, *Bibliothèque*, XV, 301, 302; Lachèvre, *Bibliothèque des Recueils*, II, 369.

[4] Lachèvre, *op. cit.*, I, 125, 275.

friends Vaugelas,[1] Ménage, Vigneul-Marville, perhaps Pellisson-Fontanier.[2]

Du Ryer probably received no more substantial aid from the noblemen to whom he dedicated his plays than he did from the friends who lavished compliments upon him, for, according to his biographers, he was unable to support his family after his marriage and was accordingly obliged to sell his position as secretary to the king. This sale was made no earlier than the fall of 1633. Not long before, it seems, he had married Geneviève Fournier, a *bourgeoise* whose virtues were those of an excellent housekeeper and admiring, if ignorant, wife. She bore him at least four children: Lucrèce, buried at Saint-Gervais, June 4, 1638; Pierre, buried at Sainte-Marguerite, May 25, 1650; Elisabeth, who died in 1651; Marthe, who was buried September 6, 1652.[3] She died not long after this last date. Her praise is sounded by her husband in a letter that will be given below.[4]

This marriage with its attendant circumstances opened a new period in Du Ryer's life. He sold his secretaryship at the end of 1633, and soon after became secretary to the king's half-brother, César, duc de Vendôme. The date of this event is not given by his biographers, but it may be determined from Du Ryer's published books. The privilege to print *Alcimedon*, dated November 18, 1634, is the first document to mention the author as secretary to the duke. *Cleomedon*, played at Carnival, 1634, is said by the author to have been written in Vendôme's house. Du Ryer must, therefore, have entered his service no later than the first weeks of 1634, and no earlier than the preceding September, date of his last preserved receipt as secretary to the king. His engagement as secretary continued at least until September 30, 1640, for the privilege to his translation of Cicero's *Tusculanes* mentions him as still holding this position, but not much longer than this, as Vendôme, accused of trying to poison Richelieu, fled to England the following year. There is no evidence that Du Ryer went back to his service after the latter's return to France.

According to the statements made in his dedications, his relations with the duke were excellent. He dedicated *Alcimedon*,

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[1] So Du Ryer declares in his preface to *Quinte-Curce*.

[2] I have in my possession a copy of the first edition of his *Histoire de l'Academie Françoise*, which he sent to Du Ryer with the inscription, "Pour Monsieur du Ryer Par son tres humble serviteur Pellisson fontanier."

[3] Jal, *Dictionnaire*, 1098.

[4] P. 18.

the *Vendanges de Suresne*, and *Cleomedon* to Vendôme himself; *Lucrece* to his daughter; *Clarigene* to his son, the duc de Mercœur; his translation of Antonio, Prior of Crato, to his wife. With the exception of *Alcionée* and a few minor translations, these were the only works he published while secretary to Vendôme. In his dedications he speaks of the duke's constant kindness to him, and of the favor with which he received his plays. He refers to "l'approbation que mes ouurages reçoivent de vostre Grandeur," to *Alcimedon*, "qui receut il ny a pas long temps vn si glorieux accueil de vostre grandeur," to *Cleomedon*, which the duke knows, "puisqu'il est né en vostre maison et vous l'auez tousiours si fauorablement esleué depuis sa naissance." He mentions also his preparing his edition of the *Vendanges* during "ces fascheuses iournées ou la fievre me rendoit inutile au service de vostre grandeur."

Towards the end of the period, however, their relations may have been less cordial, for we find Du Ryer dedicating his *Alcionée* to the duchesse d'Aiguillon, niece of Richelieu, whom, the following year, Vendôme was accused of trying to murder. Possibly Du Ryer saw the tide turning against his protector and followed the example of many literary contemporaries by seeking the favor of the Cardinal. But the cause may have been merely what he writes the duchess in his dedication: "Lors que son Eminence me fit l'honneur de me commander de luy porter cet ouurage, et de vouloir encore que ie luy en fisse la lecture apres l'auoir veu representer tant de fois, ie crus qu'elle autorisoit mon entreprise." Whatever his motives may have been, Du Ryer did not long enjoy the protection of either Vendôme or Richelieu. The former's exile in 1641 and the latter's death the following year left him without a special patron.

The first record of his being an *aduocat en Parlement* is found at the end of the year 1633, in the privilege to his translation of Salvianus. This work, including its dedication to the abbé de Tillières, shows Du Ryer as the devout Catholic of his lyrics. It is with the publication of this translation and with that of *Alcimedon* that he enters into relations with Antoine de Sommaville, who, alone or associated with Courbé, published for him nearly all of his subsequent work, and consequently had much influence upon his life by inducing him to give up dramatic composition for translation.

Between 1633 and 1640 Du Ryer passes from the time of his irregular tragi-comedies into a period of experimentation in various dramatic forms and of development towards a simpler and profounder conception of his art. He improves his tragi-comedies, tries the comedy and the pastoral, and brings out his first two tragedies, by which he becomes a leader in the movement towards the creation of the French classic drama. He enters the period an apprentice and leaves it an acknowledged master. He gives up lyric poetry, except for an occasional stanza in a play or lines for a friend's work, and makes the drama his chief literary interest.

But this period also marks the beginning of his translations, which gradually grew in importance till they entirely crowded out his dramatic work. It was not his marriage alone that drove him to such excessive translation, as his biographers would have us believe. As long as he was secretary to Vendôme, he was able to support his family and also to write plays. But the loss of this patron and the failure to obtain a new one left him in a difficulty from which he rescued himself only by the use of his pen. In 1640, foreseeing the difficulties into which Vendôme was about to fall, he turned, not only to Richelieu's niece, but to the publishers, and projected translations that would enable him to support his family for some years to come. Before this date he had translated only a few things, but they represented the three kinds of authors that he was to translate subsequently with such unfortunate success, writers of modern Latin, of classic Greek, and of classic Latin.

After 1640 Du Ryer appears to have had no patron and to have supported his family entirely by his plays and translations. His *Sceuole* was dedicated by the publisher during his own absence from Paris. His translation of Livy was dedicated to Christina of Sweden, of Sulpicius to a certain Monsieur Du Mas. None of his other works published after 1640, either plays or translations, were dedicated to definite individuals. For a while he continued to live at Paris. He may have held a salon there, for Tallemant[1] speaks of the actor Bellerose as taking part in "certaines conversations spirituelles chez Giry et chez du Ryer." He was on friendly terms with Ménage and other men of letters. His reputation as a dramatist and translator brought him into

[1] *Historiettes*, Paris, 1860, VII, 173.

the Academy on November 21, 1646, under peculiarly flattering circumstances. "Monsieur Faret estant mort, on proposa d'vn costé le mesme Monsieur Corneille, et de l'autre Monsieur du Ryer, et ce dernier fut preferé. Or le Registre en cét endroit, fait mention de la resolution que l'Academie avoit prise de preferer toûjours entre deux personnes, dont l'vne et l'autre auroient les qualitez necessaires, celle qui feroit sa residence à Paris."[1] The citation shows that Du Ryer was at this time considered Corneille's equal by the members of the Academy. He succeeded one of the founders of that institution and became its nineteenth member.

About this time Du Ryer went to live in the village of Picpus. Indeed he may have been living there at the time of his election,[2] for the village, now within the Fortifications, was then doubtless near enough to enable him to meet the Academy's requirement of residence at Paris. Antoine de Sommaville's reference in 1647 to his expected "retour de la Campagne"[3] may indicate that he had gone there to live. He was certainly residing there in 1650, for in the notice of his son's burial at Sainte-Marguerite, he is mentioned as inhabiting Picpus, "vis-à-vis la Gerbe d'or."[4] Other burial notices show that he was living there in 1651 and in 1652, but that after his second marriage he returned to Paris, and lived in the rue des Tournelles in the Marais. He probably kept up an establishment near Picpus, for his own burial notice declares that he died "en sa maison au village de la Rapée, proche de la basse-court de la seigneurie de Bercy, paroisse Saint-Paul."[4]

Poverty is assigned as the cause of his living in the suburbs. Ménage states that "pour éviter la dépense, il demeuroit hors de Paris, encore plus loin que les Picquepuces, où il logeoit avec une femme et des enfans. J'allay le voir une fois en compagnie. Il nous régala de cerises cueillies dans un petit jardin qu'il avoit."[5] Vigneul-Marville[6] confirms this account at greater length:

"M. du Ryer traduisoit les Auteurs à la hâte, pour tirer promptement du Libraire Sommaville une médiocre récompense, qui l'aidoit

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[1] *Histoire de l'Academie Françoise*, Paris, 1653, p. 362.

[2] Or even as early as 1643, if, as Stiefel suggests, Du Ryer's removal to Picpus is referred to by Mairet when he speaks of his retiring from the "occupations de la Scene." Cf. Mairet's preface to *Sidonie*, 1643, and *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XVI, 43.

[3] Dedication of *Sceuole*.

[4] Jal, *Dictionnaire*, 1098.

[5] *Ménagiana*, Amsterdam, 1693, p. 366.

[6] *Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature*, Rotterdam, 1700, I, 193, 194.

à subsister avec sa pauvre famille dans un petit village auprés de Paris. Un beau jour d'Eté nous allâmes plusieurs ensemble lui rendre visite: Il nous reçût avec joïe, nous parla de ses desseins, et nous fit voir ses ouvrages; Mais ce qui nous toucha, c'est que ne craignant pas de nous laisser voir sa pauvreté, il voulut nous donner la collation. Nous nous rangeâmes dessous un arbre, on étendit une nape sur l'herbe, sa femme aporta du lait, et lui des cerises, de l'eau fraîche, et du pain bis. Quoique ce régal nous semblât tres-bon, nous ne pûmes dire adieu à cet excellent homme sans pleurer, de le voir si maltraité de la fortune, sur tout dans sa vieillesse, et acablé d'infirmitez."

These indications of Du Ryer's poverty are confirmed by Richelet, who gives as an example in his dictionary,[1] "Feu du Rier travailloit pour du pain." Ménage believes that he "fami magis quam famæ inserviebat."[2] Jal[3] states that he paid only thirty-seven sous for the burial of his son in 1650, nineteen sous six deniers for the burial of his daughter Elisabeth in 1651, and twenty sous for that of a second daughter, Marthe, in 1652. This is probably the time of Vigneul-Marville's visit, for, as the latter was then about twenty, the visit could hardly have been much earlier, and as Du Ryer's wife died not long after, it could not have been much later.

A delightful account of his family life during this period, his fine acceptance of adversity, and his wife's admiring devotion is given in a letter, published in *Essais de Lettres familieres*,[4] which was written by him to an unknown friend. It runs as follows:

"Quoi, vous loüez ma version de Seneque! A d'autres, vous ne m'y ratraperez pas: Sçachez, Monsieur, que je l'ai faite en six mois, et qu'il faudroit six ans pour la faire comme il faut. Ma Traduction est une Traduction de Villeloin. La seule difference qu'il y a entre lui et moi, c'est qu'il croit faire bien, et ne sçauroit mieux faire: Mais pour moi, je connois mes fautes, et pourrois faire mieux. Oüi j'ai cette vanité de croire que je pourrois être d'Ablancourt, ou Vaugelas, et je suis devenu Marolles. O fortune, fortune! c'est un effet de ta rigueur. Tu m'as forcé, malgré moi, de te sacrifier ma reputation; mais tu ne me forceras jamais de te sacrifier mon honneur, et je ne veux point tromper mon Ami. Viola, M. la franchise que je vous dois, pour la bonté que vous avez de me prêter quelquefois de l'argent: Je vous envoye les vingt pistoles que vous m'avez prêtées en dernier lieu. Les Libraires me sont venus voir à nôtre village, et m'ont

[1] Geneva, 1680, under the word *pain*.
[2] *Ménagiana*, Amsterdam, 1693, p. 366.
[3] *Dictionnaire*, 1098.
[4] Paris, 1690, pp. 16–20. Brunet states that the collection of letters was published by Cassagne, not by Furetière.

apporté deux cens écus. Je les ay aussi-tôt donnez à nôtre Ménagere, qui est ravie, et me rend heureux dans mon malheur. Elle croit mes Traductions aussi parfaites, que vous faites semblant de les croire; et comme elle est témoin de la rapidité avec laquelle je les fais, elle ne sçauroit comprendre qu'un mortel soit capable de venir si aisément à bout de tant de merveilles, et s'imagine qu'il y a quelque chose en moi, qui surpasse la Nature humaine. Vous avez ouï parler du pauvre B. Il avoit épousé une Demoiselle Angloise, qui lui donnoit des coups de bâton, quand il ne travailloit pas assez à son gré. La mienne, grace à Dieu, n'est ni Angloise, ni Demoiselle; c'est une bonne femme, qui m'aime avec une tendresse, et m'honore avec un respect incroyable. J'en reçois plus de service que je n'en tirerois de six domestiques. Elle tient ma petite sale et mon alcove propres et luisantes comme deux miroirs; elle fait mon lit d'une maniere que je ne pense pas qu'il y ait de Prince qui soit mieux couché: et sur toutes choses elle ne manque jamais de me donner une bonne soupe. Je ne sçaurois comprendre à mon tour, qu'avec si peu de finance on puisse trouver le moyen de faire si grand'chere. De sorte qu'en dépit de la Fortune, nous passons nôtre vie à nous admirer l'un et l'autre. Elle admire le genie que j'ai pour la Traduction, et j'admire le genie qu'elle a pour le ménage. Au reste je vous dois dire que Madame Bilaine est venuë avec mon bon ami Courbé m'apporter les deux cens écus qu'ils me devoient de reste pour ma Version des Oraisons de Ciceron, que je vous envoierai dans peu de jours. Cette fine Marchande de Livres étoit à robe détroussée et me baisa de si bonne grace, qu'on voit bien que l'école du Palais n'est moins gueres bonne que celle de la Cour, pour apprendre à ses Ecolieres la belle maniere de saluer les gens, que la galanterie de nôtre Nation a introduite dans le commerce de la vie. En un mot, Madame Bilaine m'a gagné le cœur; et m'a offert de m'avancer sur mon Tite-Live, qui s'avance fort une somme de mille francs. A l'instant ma ménagere ouvrit les oreilles, et me vint dire tout bas, prenez-là au mot, mon cher mari; Je la crus, et sur le champ les mille livres furent comptées en beaux Louïs d'or et d'argent au pauvre du Ryer, qui de crainte de vous ennuyer ne vous en dira pas davantage, et tâchera seulement de mieux faire à l'avenir qu'il n'a fait par le passé. Je puis vous donner cette parole: maintenant que je me vois, vous payé, plus de quatre cent écus devant moi; qui depuis que je me connois ne me suis jamais trouvé si riche; ou pour mieux dire, moins pauvre. Adieu, mon cher Monsieur, ne perdez pas cette Lettre, que je vous prie de faire imprimer pour ma justification, à la fin, ou à la tête du premier de mes Livres, qui se réimprimera. Je suis à mon ordinaire, c'est à dire avec beaucoup d'affection et de reconnoissance,

"Monsieur, Vôtre tres-humble serviteur,

"DU RYER."

This letter was written about 1652, for that is the year in which Du Ryer must have been finishing his Livy after the completion

of his Seneca and most of Cicero's orations. It is valuable for the account of his life at Picpus, his poverty, his domestic happiness, his friendly and lucrative relations with Courbé and this interesting Madame Bilaine, "à robe détroussée qui me baisa de si bonne grace." It shows, too, his refusal of undeserved praise, his confidence in his real ability to do good work, his distress at the necessity that compelled him to translate hurriedly. His quiet humor, his delight in the simple comforts that his wife gave him, his respect for her business ability, and her belief in his genius give the letter a human interest that is absent from most documents concerning him.

Fournier,[1] who was the first to quote this letter in treating Du Ryer's life, uses the account of his friendly relations with the publishers to disprove Baillet's statement that Du Ryer sold his translations for thirty sous a sheet, and his verses at four francs a hundred when large, forty sous when small. He declares that Baillet is purposely slandering Du Ryer. I do not see how this letter contradicts Baillet's statements. It is not a question of verses, but of translations. Now the completed translation of Livy contains about seventeen hundred pages, which, at thirty sous a page, would bring in, according to Baillet, two thousand five hundred and fifty francs, of which one thousand might easily be paid in advance. There is, therefore, nothing wrong in the statement, so far as the translations are concerned. But there is, on the other hand, no proof that Du Ryer was actually paid at this rate. The origin of the error can be readily shown.

In his *Nouuelle allegorique*,[2] Furetière describes the confusion among the adherents of rhetoric after the death of Richelieu, some of whom "se mîrent en seruice chez les Comédiens, les Imagers et les Libraires . . . où tel fut contraint par la necessité de faire des Traductions à trente sous ou à vn écu la feüille; tel des vers à quatre francs le cent quand ils étoient grands, et à quarante sous quand ils étoient petits." There is no mention of Du Ryer whatsoever. Moreover, Furetière omits his name from the list of translators that he gives earlier in the book, although he includes in it d'Ablancourt, Giry, Vaugelas, Charpentier, Vigenère, and Baudouin. Baillet,[3] following Furetière, speaks of Baudouin,

[1] *Théâtre français*, II, 73.
[2] Paris, 1658, p. 133.
[3] *Jugemens des Sçavans*, Paris, 1685, 1686, tome I, p. 446.

Du Ryer, and others as mercenary translators, who lost their reputation, some by translating at "30 sols où à un écu la feüille," others by writing verses "à quatre francs le cent, etc." Clément and the Abbé de la Porte[1] combine these two statements and declare that Du Ryer received "un écu par feuille" for translations, four francs a hundred for large verses, forty sous a hundred for small. Thus started, this statement, entirely without foundation in fact, has found general acceptance except by Fournier. It has even been incorporated in a recent edition of Rotrou.[2]

To this period belongs a letter written by Du Ryer to explain a passage in a letter of Sulpicius to Cicero. Although noted in the catalogue of the Arsenal library,[3] it has been overlooked by all of Du Ryer's biographers. It is neither signed nor dated, but it is addressed to "Mons. Conrart conseiller et secretaire du roy," and is assigned to Du Ryer by another hand than that which wrote the letter. It accompanies two letters on the same subject by d'Espagne and Patru, the former of which is marked "London, June 20, 1653." Although its authorship is not certainly proved, there seems little reason to doubt that the letter was written by Du Ryer. It runs as follows:

"Je scay bien qu'il se trouue quelques personnes parmi les anciens et les modernes qui ne sont pas du sentiment du traducteur de la lettre de Sulpicius a Ciceron. Et a la verité il semble qu'il y ayt de l'ironie dans ces paroles *Licitum est tibi credo*, et qu'on pourroit expliquer en cette maniere le passage dont il s'agit,—*Qu'est ce qui est maintenant capable de luy faire aymer la Vie? Quelles esperances et quelles satisfactions d'esprit? Celles la peut-estre de passer le reste de ses jours auec un mary de la premiere noblesse comme si vous eussiez pu choisir un gendre parmi la Jeunesse d'aujourdhuy qui eust esté digne de vous, et à qui vous eussiez pu confier vos enfans et vostre personne*, etc. Car on dit que les guerres ciuiles auoient entièrement corrompu la jeunesse de ce temps la.

"On pourroit donc donner cette explication a ces paroles *Licitum est tibi credo;* mais je n'aurois garde pour cela de condamner l'autre, et mesme je ne scay si apres auoir consideré ce passage aussi exactement que le traducteur qui paroist personne d'esprit et de jugement je ne me laisserois point aller a son opinion. En effet est-il vraysemblable que toute la Jeunesse de Rome eust esté si débauchee qu'il n'y eust eu personne de reste en qui l'on pûst trouuer du merite et de la vertu? La Peste ne depeuple pas les villes de telle sorte qu'il n'y demeure

[1] *Anecdotes dramatiques*, Paris, 1775, III, 176.
[2] Hémon, *Rotrou. Théâtre choisi*, p. 12.
[3] MS. 5419, pp. 65–80.

quelques habitans qui ne s'en soient point ressentis; les embrassemens les plus furieux ne deuorent pas toutes choses; et la corruption du vice n'a jamais esté si puissante que quelques esprits genereux n'ayent eu la force de s'en exempter. Sulpicius a donc pu dire a Ciceron comme l'explique le traducteur, *Je croy en effet qu'une personne de vostre condition auroit pu choisir un gendre parmi la jeunesse de Rome entre les mains duquel vous eussiez pû mettre surement vos interests, vos enfans et vostre personne.*

"C'est une espece de consolation qui ne manque pas d'exemples que de dire quelque chose a un affligé qui le diuertisse de sa douleur par la louange qu'on luy donne. Ainsi il semble que Sulpicius qui conoissoit l'humeur de Ciceron à qui les louanges ne deplaisoient pas, luy veuille dire comme à dessein de le louer, *Qu'a la verité* un homme de sa condition et de sa vertu auroit pu choisir un gendre parmi la jeunesse de Rome entre les mains duquel il auroit abandonné surement ses enfans et sa personne. Mais aussi tost pour le consoler de ne pouuoir jouir de ce bien dont la mort de sa fille luy auoit osté l'esperence ne diroit-on pas que Sulpicius continue son discours de la sorte. *Mais quand vostre fille auroit eu des enfans d'un mary si vertueux elle n'auroit pas eu la satisfaction de les voir dans les grandes charges, et dans la jouissance des biens que leur Pere leur auroit laisses puisqu'il n'y a plus de biens ny d'honneurs a esperer dans la cheute de la republique et que tous ces auantages leur auroient esté rauis auant qu'ils leur eussent este donnes.*

"Outre cela il falloit que Sulpicius comme excellent consolateur representast a Ciceron tout ce qui pourroit arriver de fauorable a sa fille, affin de luy faire voir ensuite qu'elle n'en pouuoit attendre aucuns auantages; et par consequent qu'ayant moins de subjet de s'affliger de sa mort, il y auoit plus de se consoler. Il estoit donc necessaire de luy dire qu'il pouuoit choisir un gendre, honneste homme et recommendable; et pour le consoler de n'auoir pas eu ce bonheur, il falloit aussi luy remonstrer comme a fait Sulpicius, qu'il ne pouuoit naistre qu'un mal de ce bien, puisque les enfans que sa fille eust mis au monde ne pouuoient estre que malheureux dans la ruine de la republique, ce qui eust este a la mere une nouuelle cause de douleur et d'affliction. De sorte qu'il luy a esté plus auantageux, et que c'est a Ciceron un plus grand subjet de se consoler qu'elle soit morte de bonne heure, que d'auoir eu un mary de qui elle eust eu des enfans dont les maux et les infortunes l'eussent rendue plus malheureuse. Voyla ce me semble ce que veut dire Sulpicius.

"Mais apres tout quand l'on considerera ces paroles *qui rem a Parente traditam*, etc., ne pourra-on pas soustenir que ce mot *parente* se rapporte a *generum diligere*, qui est à deux lignes au dessus? Or d'autant que Sulpicius parle des biens que le mari de Tullia eust laisses a ses enfans, il n'est pas a croire que ce mot *parente* se rapportant vraysemblablement a *generum* il ayt voulu parler d'un gendre debauche puisque ce n'est pas la coustume des Peres debauches de laisser du bien a leurs enfans.

"Je conclurois de ce discours que le Traducteur est fondé sur la raison, et qu'on luy a declaré la guerre plustost pour exercer son esprit et pour luy donner subjet de vaincre auec plus d'honneur et de gloire, que pour luy faire changer d'opinion."

This prolix and ingenious defense of a brother translator shows in Du Ryer a desire for fairness and a considerable knowledge of the subject under discussion, but not the accuracy of the thorough scholar. The question raised is whether Sulpicius, in his letter of consolation to Cicero,[1] is speaking ironically or not when he declares that the latter could have found a worthy husband for his daughter in the younger generation. Modern scholarship favors the ironical interpretation. Du Ryer tries to show that the other interpretation could also stand, but he fails to do away with the linguistic difficulty caused by the author's use of *credo*.

Little more is known of Du Ryer's life. Marmontel makes the statement that "on dit que sa femme lui donna tous les jours sa tâche à remplir, et tant de pages à traduire."[2] Not long after the death of this wife, the excellent housekeeper, he married again, and went to live in the Marais, rue des Tournelles. His second wife, Marie de Bonnaire, is thought by Jal[3] to have brought him enough money to enable him to spend his last years in comfort, but her assistance did not relieve him from his translating, which he continued up to his death. Their daughter, Marie-Aymée, was baptized March 26, 1655, being held by Aymée Du Ryer, probably a daughter by the first marriage. Finally, d'Olivet[4] declares that Du Ryer obtained "sur la fin de ses jours un brevet d'historiographe de France avec une pension sur le sceau." This statement is confirmed by the title-page of Du Ryer's translations of Herodotus and de Thou, printed in 1658 and 1659, respectively.

There is abundant evidence to show that Du Ryer died in 1658. Jal[3] found the record of his burial at Saint-Gervais dated November 26 of that year. Baillet's statement[5] that he died in 1656 or 1657 led Bayle and some others into error,[6] but most biographers give the year correctly. They assume, however, that

[1] Cicero *ad Fam.*, IV, 5.
[2] *Chefs d'œuvre dramatiques*, preface to *Scévole*, p. iv.
[3] *Dictionnaire*, 1098.
[4] Cf. Livet, *Histoire de l'Académie française*, I, 301.
[5] *Jugemens des Sçavans*, Paris, 1685, 1686, tome IV, part IV, p. 274.
[6] Among these, note especially an edition of Pellisson's *Histoire de l'Académie Françoise*, published in 1672, p. 612; the *Recueil des Harangues prononcées par Messieurs de l'Académie françoise dans leurs réceptions*, Paris, 1698, p. 54; the *Registres de l'Académie française*, Paris, 1906, IV, 19. The mistake about the time of Du Ryer's death leads to a corresponding error as to when Jean d'Estrées succeeded him in the Academy.

the date of his burial coincided with that of his death, and misread the day in the church register, so that the date commonly given has been November 6, 1658.[1] The frères Parfaict[2] proved that this date was wrong by calling attention to a notice of Du Ryer's death in Loret's *Muze historique* for October 5th. They made no attempt to explain the November dating, which Fournier accepted as true; nor did Livet and Philipp explain it, though the latter, at least, knows Jal.

Now the simple explanation is that Du Ryer died before October 5 "en sa maison au village de la Rapée, proche de la basse-court de la seigneurie de Bercy, paroisse Saint-Paul,"[3] but that he was not "apporté en cette église [Saint-Gervais], lieu de sa sépulture," till November 26. The exact date of his death remains unknown. As the number of the *Muze historique* preceding the one which contains the death-notice is dated September 28, it seems probable that he died between this date and October 5. In confirmation of this may be cited the editions of Du Ryer's translations of Freinsheim and of de Thou, which appeared in 1659 and refer to "feu Monsieur Du Ryer"; and the second volume of his *Œuvres de Seneque*, printed October 14, 1658, containing a prefatory note from the publisher, in which he mourns the sudden death of Du Ryer, which had occurred "ces iours passez" and had not allowed him to see "l'impression acheuée, comme il l'auoit conduit à sa perfection sur le papier." Finally, it should be noticed that the publication of the *Histoires d'Herodote* was finished on September 23, 1658, and that with it appeared a dedicatory epistle to Foucquet from the publisher, in which he speaks of "feu Monsieur Du Ryer." This seems at first to show that Du Ryer died before September 23, but as the *Epistre* does not occur in the copy of the work in the Mazarine, and is printed on a separate leaf in the copies at the Arsenal and at the Bibliothèque Nationale, it appears to have been added after the rest of the work was printed, and to indicate that Du Ryer died, not before, but after September 23. The preponderance of the evidence, then, shows that he died in the last week of September, or the first week of October, 1658, and was buried at Saint-Gervais on the 26th of the next month.

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[1] The mistake seems to occur first in Moréri, *Dictionnaire*, Amsterdam, 1694. Romuald in his *Ephemerides*, Paris, 1662, II, 474, gives November 21.

[2] *Histoire du théâtre françois*, IV, 537.

[3] Jal, *Dictionnaire*, 1098.

In this last period of his life Du Ryer published eight tragedies and tragi-comedies, which show originality in several important respects and include most of his best work. But after 1648 his dramas deteriorated as the number of his translations increased, and he soon devoted himself exclusively to the more prosaic and remunerative *genre*. Before considering the value of these translations and their effect upon his plays, it is well to pay some attention to the fame his labors brought him.

Du Ryer was regarded by his contemporaries as one of the three or four leading dramatists of his time. Little value, it is true, is attached to the flattering verses that precede certain of his works, or to Loret's panegyric in which he asks the Academy,

> "Où trouverez-vous un Confrére,
> Qui par ses mérites divers
> Qui par sa Proze et par ses Vers,
> Par sa douceur incomparable,
> Par sa vertu, presque, adorable,
> Puisse réparer, aujourd'huy,
> La perte que l'on fait en luy,
> Et remplir, dignement la place
> Qu'il possédoit sur le Parnasse?
> Rare Autheur, dont j'aimay toûjours,
> Les hauts Traitez, les hauts Discours,
> Les Traductions, sans égales,
> Les belles Piéces Téatrales,
> Et, bref, tant de divins Ecrits
> Dont tu ravissois nos Esprits."[1]

But of some importance is the testimony of Mairet, who refers to Rotrou, Scudéry, Corneille, and Du Ryer as if he considers them his leading dramatic contemporaries[2]; that of La Pinelière[3] and the abbé Brillon[4] are to much the same effect; Sorel declares that, "Il vint vn grand nombre de Poëtes pour les Pieces Comiques et Tragiques, de sorte qu'on ne manquoit point de diuertissement. *Messieurs Tristan, Scudery, Rotrou et du Rier*, s'éleuerent pardessus les autres, et en mesme temps vint *M. Corneille* dont la reputation a tousiours esté en augmentant."[5] François Colle-

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[1] *La Muze historique*, edited by Ch.-L. Livet, Paris, 1877, II, 537, 538; cf. also III, 137.

[2] *Epistre dedicatoire*, published in 1636 with his *Duc d'Ossonne*. Cf. also his *Sidonie*, quoted on page 16, and Livet, *Histoire de l'Académie française*, II, 181.

[3] *Le Parnasse*, Paris, 1635, 60–62.

[4] *Notice biographique sur Jean Rotrou*, written about 1698, published at Chartres, 1885, pp. 16, 17.

[5] *Bibliotheque Françoise*, Paris, 1664, p. 185.

tet began his biography.[1] Individual works were praised by d'Aubignac, Scudéry, Saint-Evremond, and Ménage. Baillet,[2] on the other hand, declared in 1685 that most of Du Ryer's works were forgotten, that he had "du talent pour la Poësie, mais il devoit paroître sur le Theâtre en un autre temps que Corneille pour n'en être point effacé comme la pluspart des autres." It should be noticed that Baillet[3] has not a much more flattering opinion of Rotrou, who in the critic's time was represented by *Venceslas* alone, just as Du Ryer was by *Sceuole* alone. These two plays, with Tristan's *Marianne*, were, according to the *Repertoire des comedies françoises*,[4] the only tragedies by Corneille's early contemporaries that were still played in 1685. Marmontel, in his *Chefs d'œuvre dramatiques*,[5] published the two plays with Mairet's *Sophonisbe* as the best representatives of their time, Corneille's works excepted.

In the eighteenth century Du Ryer is placed by Titon du Tillet among the poets of his *Parnasse français*. Extracts from his works are published in the *Bibliothèque poëtique* of 1745 along with the poems of Marot, Saint-Gelais, Du Bellay, Régnier, Malherbe, Rotrou, and Tristan. He is criticized at greatest length by Clément and La Porte,[6] who speak of his work as follows:

"C'est toujours un dialogue raisonné, fort et nerveux, des Sentences souvent exprimées vivement et avec précision, une intrigue bien ménagée et conduite avec art; j'en excepte cependant *l'Argénis*. Il tire ordinairement de tous ces sujets tout ce qu'on en peut tirer; mais il est rarement heureux dans leur choix . . . On ne peut refuser à cet Auteur de la force et quelquefois du sublime dans les idées, de l'énergie dans l'expression, et un grand fond de raisonnement. Ses vers n'offrent pas seulement des mots pompeux et des bagatelles harmonieuses; mais ils donnent beaucoup à penser et renferment un grand sens. Il faut avouer néanmoins qu'il n'a pu s'empêcher de payer le tribut au mauvais goût de son siècle. Jusques dans les plus beaux morceaux, on trouve des jeux de mots pitoyables, des antithèses puériles et affectées. On peut aussi accuser la fortune, qui ne lui permettoit pas toujours d'employer le temps nécessaire à la perfection de ses ouvrages. Obligé de travailler pour vivre, il fit de mauvaises Pieces de Théatre, comme de mauvaises traductions."

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[1] Cf. *Vies commencées par François Colletet Fils de Guillaume*, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. fr. nouv. acq. 3074, p. 309, where the work is listed. It was destroyed with other lives of poets in 1871.

[2] *Jugemens des Sçavans*, Paris, 1685, 1686, tome IV, part IV, p. 275.

[3] *Ibidem*, 252, and Hémon, *Rotrou*, 39.

[4] MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, anc. fonds fr. 2509.

[5] Paris, 1773. The collection went no further than this first volume.

[6] *Anecdotes dramatiques*, Paris, 1775, III, 177.

This last idea had been expressed by d'Olivet,[1] whose brief estimate of Du Ryer was generally accepted, if we can judge by the frequency with which it was quoted. After stating that Du Ryer was obliged to write for his living, he remarked, "De là vient que ses ouvrages sont éloignés de la perfection où l'on sent qu'il étoit capable de les porter. Il avoit un style coulant et pur, égale facilité pour les vers et pour la prose. Il ne manquoit que de loisir."

The popularity of his work with the general public is shown by the cordial reception his plays received from the start, and especially by the unusual success of *Alcionée* and *Sceuole*. All of his plays must have been represented, as the early ones are in Mahelot's register and there are references to the performance of most of the others. The anonymous introduction to the manuscripts of *Aretaphile* and *Clitophon* states that they were received "avec un aplaudissement universel du peuple et de la Cour; et particulierement Aretaphile que M. le Duc d'Orleans apelloit sa piece." Du Ryer refers in his dedications to the applause won by *Alcimedon* and *Saül*, to the frequent representations of *Alcionée*, to the "estime qu'un peu de bonne fortune m'a acquise." In the introduction to *Berenice* he declares that he will not write another work in prose, for he prefers to remain "au bout de la carriere auec un peu de gloire que de la recommencer auec hasard." *Alcionée* was played by Molière on December 2, 1659, at the famous second representation of the *Précieuses ridicules*. *Sceuole* was frequently given by Molière's troupe and remained on the boards more than a century after its first appearance. It was largely due to the fame brought him by his plays and early translations that Du Ryer was elected to the Academy over Corneille, although the choice took place after the publication of *Polyeucte*.

A full discussion of Du Ryer's work as a translator does not come within the scope of this volume, but a general statement of the kind and quantity of his translations may help to explain his life and his plays. His interest in the classic tongues was first shown by the Latin poem to his father that has been quoted, and by the choice of subjects for his early plays from Plutarch, Tatius, Barclay, Eumathius. His first translation, the *Traitté de la Prouidence de Dieu* by Salvianus, Bishop of Marseilles, appeared December 3, 1633, with a dedication to the abbé de

[1] Cf. Livet, *Histoire de l'Académie française*, I, 301.

Tillières and complimentary verses welcoming Du Ryer among the writers of prose. He followed this volume with translations of a great portion of Cicero's works, which appeared at various times between 1638 and the end of his life. He translated also an oration of Isocrates, *La Vie de Saint Martin* by Sulpicius Severus, *Les Pseaumes de D. Antoine, roy de Portugal*, most of Seneca's philosophical works, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* "auec explications morales et politiques."[1] He devoted himself to history, translating Strada, Herodotus, Polybius, Livy, de Thou, and Freinsheim's supplements to both Livy and Quintus Curtius.[2] An idea of the labor these works required is given by the fact that his Cicero covers some four thousand duodecimo pages, his de Thou some three thousand folio. His turning especially to historians, orators, and philosophers was to be expected of an author whose best plays are oratorical rather than lyric, based more frequently on history than on romance.

The popularity of these translations is clearly proved by the number of editions that were made of them. His Livy had five editions; his Herodotus, seven; his Strada, his Ovid, and his Freinsheim, twelve each. His *Pseaumes de Dom Antoine* was translated into English,[3] his commentary on Ovid into Dutch.[4] He was so well known as the translator of Cicero that translations of the *Epistolæ familiares* which were published at Lyons in 1689 and at Paris in 1704 were falsely attributed to him.[5] In the preparation of his dictionary, Richelet uses his Livy, Strada, and Freinsheim as authoritative works.[6] His popularity with the publishers is another indication of this success. Tallemant speaks of an effort which was made by one of them to secure a scholar "à opposer à Du Ryer qui traduisoit Ciceron pour d'autres libraires."[7] After his death his publishers called his versions "si belles et si recherchees du public et notamment de toute l'Université."[8] Courbé declares that he had no superior as a

[1] For a criticism of this translation cf. Goujet, *Bibliothèque*, VI, 45, *seq.*

[2] For a complete list of his translations, see Appendix B.

[3] *Royall Psalmes, Translated into French by P. Du Rier: Into English by Baldwin St. George*, London, 1659.

[4] By J. V. Vondel, Amsterdam, 1671, 1701, 1703, 1730. Cf. Graesse, *Trésor de Livres rares*, Dresden, 1859–1869.

[5] Quérard, *Les supercheries*, I, 1188, 1189.

[6] Cf. *Dictionnaire* (edition of Amsterdam, 1706), introduction and pp. 3, 12, 21, 22, 48, 474. Cf. also the introduction to the first edition, Geneva, 1680.

[7] *Historiettes*, Paris, 1860, VI, 295.

[8] Privilege to *Œuures de Ciceron*, Paris, 1670, volume I.

translator.[1] Antoinede Sommaville writes at greater length:[2] "Sa personne estoit si bien en veuë, et ses belles notions estoient receuës auec tant de respect dans la plus celebre Assemblée des Sçauans du Royaume, qu'il passoit parmy eux pour l'Arbitre de toutes les difficultez qui s'y proposoient, sur la pureté de nostre Langage."

More trustworthy than this praise from an interested publisher is the evidence of Sorel,[3] given in 1664, that Du Ryer "a tousiours passé pour vn de nos meilleurs Traducteurs," and of Romuald[4] that he was "vn des plus industrieux à bien composer en Prose et en Vers. Il auoit sur tout vn talent particulier pour bien traduire les Autheurs Latins." Especially noteworthy is Chapelain's letter of June 8, 1673,[5] in which he urges Le Bossu to learn how elegance of style may be united with "la justesse du raisonnement," by reading Balzac, d'Ablancourt, Du Ryer, and Giry, for "ces autheurs sont purs, et l'on ne peut errer en les suyvant, pourveu que, comme faisoit le Père Le Moine, on n'en porte point l'imitation au delà des bornes qu'ils s'y sont prescrittes."

Du Ryer refers to his own success in the preface to his translation of Strada: "Bien que mes autres traductions n'ayent pas esté desapprouuées et qu'elles ayent eu un succès qui me pouuoit obliger d'en entreprendre de nouuelles"; and in the preface to his Livy he mentions "l'honneur que l'on m'a fait iusqu'icy de souhaiter mes traductions." But while his friends admired his translations, he saw the defects that entered into them through the rapidity with which he was forced to work. It was not long after his death that others came to agree with him and even to exaggerate his inaccuracy.

Gueret expressed two opinions of him in his satirical *Parnasse reformé*.[6] Du Ryer is represented as afraid that he will be punished for having made versions of Greek and Latin authors according to former French translations and without regard for the originals, and Seneca and Polybius are said to have much cause for complaint against their translators. On the other hand, Cicero would protect him on account of the glory he has

[1] *Epistre* before his translation of de Thou.

[2] Before *Œuures de Seneque*, Paris, 1658, vol. II.

[3] *Bibliothèque*, p. 202.

[4] *Ephemerides*, Paris, 1662, II, 474.

[5] *Lettres de Chapelain*, edited by Tamizey de Larroque, Paris, 1880–1883, II, 822, 823.

[6] Paris, edition of 1671, pp. 7–13, 37.

received from his fine translations. In a similar work of the time, Vaugelas is made to class him with Théophile, Rotrou, Pascal, Boileau, and others, authors "sur qui nôtre censure n'a à faire que tres-peu de chose."[1]

Baillet declares that Sorel praised Du Ryer too highly, that even in Cicero, his best translation, passages are misunderstood and translated by "galimatias" to deceive students, and that his Herodotus, Polybius, Ovid, Livy, and Seneca are old versions made over.[2] His only proofs are references to the *Parnasse reformé* and to père Escalopier's criticism of Du Ryer's translation of *De Natura Deorum*. On another page[3] he places him among the mercenary translators, as does Ménage a few years later.[4]

Bayle's evidence is more definite. After charging Du Ryer with ignorance and carelessness, partly due to haste, he cites six examples to prove his statement. It is true that the first two of these are from Claveret,[5] not from Du Ryer, but the other four, taken from his translations of Antonio and de Thou, show an undeniable lack of exact linguistic scholarship, accompanied by ignorance of certain historical facts.[6] Bayle declares that he has found other mistakes in Du Ryer's translation of de Thou, and quotes Escalopier as stating that there are a number in his *De Natura Deorum*.

Du Ryer is criticized by a rival translator of de Thou's history[7] because, "outre qu'il y a fait beaucoup de fautes, et qu'en mille endroits il n'a point entendu son Auteur, il l'a fait parler si mal, qu'il l'a tout à fait deshonoré." Niceron and others repeat the judgments of Baillet, Bayle, or d'Olivet, without adding anything to them. Goujet[8] also quotes Baillet and d'Olivet, but adds a more favorable opinion from Villefore as to the Cicero: "Je n'y trouve d'autre défaut qu'un style devenu tout-à-fait vieux;

[1] *La Guerre des Autheurs*, The Hague, 1671, p. 169.

[2] *Jugemens des Sçavans*, Paris, 1685, 1686, III, 548–550.

[3] *Ibid.*, tome I, p. 446. [4] *Menagiana*, Amsterdam, 1693, p. 366.

[5] La Mothe le Vayer in his *Hexameron rustique*, Paris, 1670, pp. 37, 38, points out two mistakes made by a translator of Cicero and Valerius Maximus. This Bayle takes as a reference to Du Ryer, and quotes the passages at length, but, as a matter of fact, they are from Claveret, *Dialogues de la Vieillesse et de l'amitié, traduits du Latin de Ciceron*, Paris, 1646, p. 160, and his *Valere Maxime*, Paris, 1647, p. 6.

[6] For example, *annos cum sæculo numerabat*, in his translation of de Thou, I, 675, is taken to mean that the person referred to lived to be a hundred years old. It should be noted, however, that three of Bayle's four quotations are from this translation of de Thou, which was finished just before the author's death and lacked a careful revision. See Bayle, *Dictionaire historique*, Rotterdam, 1697.

[7] The Hague, 1740, p. xxix. [8] *Bibliothèque*, II, 233.

car du reste, il prend assés juste le sens de son Auteur." "Cela est vrai en général," continues Goujet, "mais il l'est aussi qu'en bien des endroits M. du Ryer n'a pas rendu exactement ce sens, qu'en d'autres il a passé pardessus les difficultés." Hoffman[1] says of his translation of Herodotus, "Du Ryer magna sua paupertate commotus hanc versionem fecit, itaque properavit atque erravit in perplurimis locis; fortasse enim ad versionem Casauboniam vertebat." Finally, M. Justin Bellanger[2] considers him laborious rather than excellent, the author of translations that are, with the exception of the Cicero, mediocre.

Of these critics, Goujet, it seems to me, has come nearest the truth. There is no doubt that Du Ryer made mistakes which indicate a deficient knowledge of history and linguistics. He admits this frankly in the letter that has been quoted.[3] But it is also true that he worked hurriedly to finish the thirty-odd volumes of the translations, many of them in folio, with which he is credited. His work was chiefly that of a popularizer of historians and orators who wrote in Latin and Greek. He made little attempt at reproducing these authors with the accuracy demanded by modern linguists, but this is usually due, not to ignorance, but to his conception of the translator's function, for he sought to adapt to his readers the facts and ideas presented by an author, rather than to reproduce carefully the original expression. He was a better interpreter than grammarian.

This is clear from his translation of Cicero's oration against L. Calpurnius Piso. He there not only indulges in simple changes of construction, from passive to active, from a conditional clause to an interrogative,[4] or substitutes one metaphor for another closely allied to it,[5] but he adds phrases for force, clearness, sonority, even to give a moral hint. For instance, he translates "dentes putridi" by "cette bouche puante, ces dents pourries et infectes"; "furia" by "détestable et pernicieuse furie"; "Piso est a populo Romano factus, non iste Piso" by "mais ce fut au vieux Pison à qui le Peuple Romain donna céte charge et non pas à ce Pison que nous voyons"; and he inserts "Mes-

[1] *Lexicon Bibliographicum*, Leipzig, 1833–36, III, 450.

[2] *Histoire de la traduction en France*, Paris, 1903, pp. 34, 35. I hope that M. Bellanger is better acquainted with Du Ryer's translations than with his plays, for he says that the latter wrote eighteen tragi-comedies and implies that his *Berenice* treats the same subject as Racine's.

[3] P. 17.

[4] Edition of Paris, 1650, pp. 96, 101.

[5] "Iugulis civitatis" becomes "le sein de la Republique," p. 102.

sieurs" at will.[1] An interesting case of improving upon the text for the reader's sake is found[2] when "maximarum largitionum" is rendered "de toutes ces grandes largesses, qui sont de veritables maux et des biens en apparence." Efforts to adapt his material to his audience are shown in his treatment of Roman military and judicial terms. The *forum* becomes the *barreau; iudices, messieurs; centuriones, capitaines.*[3] Finally, an indication of his aims in translation can be had from his preface[4] to Vaugelas's *Quinte-Curce*, in which he praises the translator for bettering the original, and from his preface to his own *Herodote*, in which he expresses his desire to reproduce, not the exact meaning of the original, but "cette netteté de langage et cette politesse majestueuse qui est si digne de l'Histoire."

Du Ryer's translations helped to keep him classic in subject and manner, while his contemporaries were following Italian and Spanish models. The development of his interest in analysis of character, unity and simplicity of subject, dignity of tone, coincides with the period in which he was devoting an increasing amount of time to translation. His translations helped to spread his fame and win his seat in the Academy. They were his chief means of support after 1640. But his labors in this field grew so greatly that they left him no time for dramatic writing and stifled his interest in creative work. His translations were too hurried to be of lasting value, and the inaccuracies found in them after his death detracted greatly from his reputation. Du Ryer's permanent contribution to literature is found, not here, but in his plays, the study of which will form the subject of the following chapters.

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[1] Pages 95, 105, 97, 101.

[2] Page 100.

[3] Pages 246–248. His usage is not fixed, for he retains *cohortes, tribunus militaris, tribus:* pp. 248, 256, 277.

[4] Page 7 in the edition of Paris, 1681.

Chapter II.

EARLY TRAGI-COMEDIES.

The plays discussed in this chapter are *Aretaphile, Clitophon, Argenis et Poliarque,* its continuation *Argenis,* and *Lisandre et Caliste.* While there is little doubt that these are Du Ryer's first plays, the exact dates of their composition are uncertain. As we know that plays of this period were sometimes acted several years before they were published, the dates which appear on the printed title-pages give us only an approximate idea of the years in which the plays were written. On the other hand, we know that an author usually published his plays in the order in which they were composed and acted. Evidence for dating them is found in prefaces, notices, and a study of their structure.

The privilege to print *Argenis et Poliarque* is dated February 25, 1630; the *achevé d'imprimer,* May 10 of the same year. Corresponding dates for *Argenis* are April 18 and June 15, 1631; for *Lisandre et Caliste,* July 20 and August 5, 1632. *Aretaphile* and *Clitophon* were never published. They are preserved in an eighteenth century manuscript, the title-pages of which declare *Aretaphile* to be the first of Du Ryer's plays, dated 1618, and *Clitophon* to be the second, dated 1632. An introductory *avertissement* states that these are his first two plays, but it does not date them.

Now these title-pages are evidently erroneous. Even if we admit that Du Ryer wrote *Aretaphile* at the age of eighteen, six years before the Latin poem to his father, which is his earliest published production, we can not understand why a man who later wrote many plays in rapid succession waited almost twelve years after his first work before composing a second. As the play figures in the *Memoire* of Mahelot, it was probably acted about 1633, which means that it must have been written not very long before,

for plays that were not popular enough to be printed did not remain a great while on the boards.[1] The internal evidence of the play is strongly against so early a date as 1618. Moreover, the title-pages are seen to be unreliable when they make the obvious mistake of calling *Aretaphile* and *Clitophon* the first two plays by Du Ryer and at the same time date the latter 1632, for *Argenis et Poliarque* and *Argenis* had both been published before this year.

On the other hand, the *avertissement*, which seems to have been composed by one of Du Ryer's contemporaries and is not necessarily from the same pen as the title-pages, is probably correct in its simple statement that these were Du Ryer's first two plays. Indeed, their priority is attested by the extreme irregularity of their structure, the naïve manner in which the author orders his events in accordance with the stories he is dramatizing, the *préciosité* of the style, the fact that they remained in manuscript form while all his other plays were published, and by references in introductory verses before *Argenis et Poliarque* and *Argenis* to Du Ryer's *escrits*, which suggest that he had written books before *Argenis et Poliarque*.[2]

Therefore, although the exact dates of these five plays can not be determined with certainty, I conclude that they were played as follows: *Aretaphile* and *Clitophon*, about 1628; *Argenis et Poliarque* and *Argenis*,[3] about 1629; *Lisandre et Caliste*, in 1630 or 1631. They will be studied in this order.

The manuscript which contains *Aretaphile* and *Clitophon* dates from the middle of the eighteenth century. It is on paper water-marked with the date 1742.[4] It appears to be a copy of one belonging to the maréchal d'Estrées that was mentioned by Titon du Tillet, de Beauchamps, and others in the first half of the eighteenth century. It was in the collection of La Vallière

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[1] I owe this argument to Monsieur G. Lanson. Cf. also his suggestions in the *Revue d' histoire littéraire de la France*, XV, 354.

[2] According to Mairet (*Epistre dedicatoire* to his *Galanteries du Duc d'Ossonne*) Du Ryer began writing after Rotrou, Scudéry, and Corneille, and consequently could have produced nothing before the last part of 1629; but the passage in which this statement occurs contains certain wilful distortions of fact that make it untrustworthy. I agree with Stiefel that it should not be accepted as evidence. Cf. *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XVI, 9, and Marsan, *La Sylvie*, Paris, 1905, p. viii, *seq.*

[3] This was probably rewritten in 1630, after the publication of *Argenis et Poliarque*.

[4] See leaves 5, 22, 30, 75, 116, 135 of the manuscript.

and passed thence to the Bibliothèque Nationale.[1] On the fourth leaf is found the *avertissement*, which makes interesting statements regarding the success of the two plays and advances a curious theory regarding the structure of the second. It appears to have been written during Du Ryer's life, but after the law of the unities had been established in France. It runs as follows:

"Aretaphile et Clitophon sont les deux premieres pieces de Theatre par qui M. Du Ryer s'est[2] fait admirer; bien qu'elles ne soyent pas comparables a tant d'autres qu'il a faites depuis, elles furent reçuës toutefois avec un aplaudissement universel du peuple et de la Cour; et particulierement Aretaphile que M. le Duc d'Orleans apelloit sa piece; L'une et l'autre sont irregulieres comme toutes les autres qui parurent en ce tems, mais Clitophon a cet avantage qu'il l'est beaucoup moins; les changemens de Scene et la trop longue durée de tems necessaire a la conduite de la fable y sont entre les Actes; en sorte que chaque Acte separement est dans l'étroite rigueur des regles, bien que pris ensemble ils soyent irreguliers, cette nouvelle méthode fut admirée des Doctes, qui temoignerent que s'il étoit permis de faire des Poëmes dramatiques contre les loix de la Scene ce devoit être de cette sorte; aussi ce fut un acheminement a les observer, et comme un avantcoureur de tant d'autres ouvrages accomplis qui suivirent Clitophon, entre lesquels l'Alcimedon de nôtre auteur fut le premier."

The plot of *Aretaphile* is taken from Plutarch's *De Mulierum Virtutibus*, XIX,[3] in which Aretaphila is represented as the wise and beautiful daughter of Æglator and wife of Phædimus, illustrious citizens of Cyrene. Nicocrates, the villain of the tale, having put to death Æglator and the priest of Apollo, made himself ruler of the town and forced Aretaphila to marry him. He then showed much love for her, but she, moved by patriotism, sought to make way with him. At first she tried poison, but her plans were discovered by her mother-in-law, who had her imprisoned and tortured. She escaped, however, through her influence over Nicocrates, by whom she was restored to her former position of honor. Then she gave her daughter to Leander, the tyrant's brother, and thus persuaded him to hire a slave to kill Nicocrates. When the deed was done, however, Leander made himself a tyrant like his predecessor. Aretaphila, nothing daunted, stirred up a war with their neighbors and called in the

[1] MS. fr. 25496. It contains 138 leaves and is written in an easily legible hand.
[2] In the original *si est*.
[3] See Lancaster, *The French Tragi-Comedy*, Baltimore, 1907, 121.

aid of an African chieftain named Anabus, whom she bribed to arrest Leander after she should persuade the latter to go out of the city to confer with him. The plan succeeded. Leander, captured by the Africans and sold to her friends, was tied up in a sack and thrown into the sea, while his mother was burned alive. Aretaphila was offered the government of the town, but she declined it and spent the rest of her days at peace in the *gynæceum*.

With the exception of the heroine, the characters are not much more than names. Love plays little part. The principal idea is the painting of the heroine's patriotism, a feeling that makes use of assassination, the prostitution of a daughter, bribery, and the basest treachery, and finally, when successful, obtains its vengeance by drowning one victim and burning another. Now Aretaphila's patriotism would make good tragic material, if its effect were not lost in the horror excited by the acts it occasions. But Du Ryer was not writing tragedy. He saw in the tale the outline of a tragi-comedy in which love would be the principal theme and patriotism altogether subordinate. He saw, too, that, to make the play successful, he must win his audience's sympathy for Aretaphila by removing some of her crimes and softening others. So he made of her a royal *précieuse* and gave her a lover who combined the functions of Phædimus and Anabus. Strangely enough, he failed to make a similar combination of Nicocrates and Leander. He has even less unity than Plutarch in his female rôles, for, in order to make Aretaphila young, and to spare her the odium of prostituting her daughter, he changed the latter to a sister and married her to Leander, whom he called Cleandre.

The play begins before Aretaphile's marriage, when her hand is being sought with success by Philarque, son of the Libyan king, and unsuccessfully by Nicocrate, who plots to usurp the throne. This first act could be readily omitted. The precious expressions of love, the king's platitudes, the rejected lover's complaints replace suitable characterization and exposition of plot. The intrigue does not begin till after Nicocrate's usurpation, an event which occurs between the first and second acts along with his marriage to Aretaphile, his murder of her father and the king, and the exile of Philarque.

There is more characterization in the second act. The usurper brutally avows his policy of heartless egotism:

"Les Dieux sont Rois au Ciel, je le suis ici bas,
Qu'ils gouvernent la haut la pluye et le tonnere
Pour moy j'aurai le soin de gouverner la terre."[1]

Melnaipe, *sacrificateur*, opposes him boldly and is sentenced to death. Next Calvie, his mother, tells him that she has found Aretaphile preparing to poison him. Unable to believe the charge, he first tests the poison on a captive. The scene has no counterpart in Plutarch's account and serves to emphasize simply and forcibly the cruelty of the new king and his cold indifference to the captive's misfortune.

"Nicocrate: Viens ça, bois[2] ce breuvage, il me faut satisfaire
Ainsi n'en doute point, ton destin rigoureux
Cessera de te rendre, ici bas malheureux.
Captif: Tu me vois par contrainte en cette obéissance
Cruel, ainsi je bois le fiel de ta puissance
Car je me doute bien que ce n'est qu'un poison.
Nicocrate: Comme il tremble, je crois que vous avez raison."[3]

The last line, addressed to his mother, shows the tyrant entirely absorbed in testing the poison, with no care for the man's life. When he sees that the latter is dying, he ironically pardons him. The scene exhibits a restraint and directness absent from most of the play. The rest of the act depicts the arrest of the heroine and a visit from the exiled Philarque, who comes for news of Aretaphile and makes a narrow escape from his rival's guards.

The third act begins with a long rhetorical monologue from Aretaphile in prison, followed by a similar soliloquy, delivered by the disguised Philarque. Next there is a love scene with a few comic passages, interrupted by the arrival of soldiers and the flight of Philarque. Aretaphile, brought before Nicocrate, pleads that the poison was intended as a love potion and that its fatal properties were unknown to her. He does not believe her, but is forced by his love to pardon her, in spite of the correctness of his suspicions. Du Ryer exhibits in the scene a knowledge of the human heart that indicates the kind of work he was later to do.

Philarque now reappears as a shepherd and amuses the audience by misdirecting the soldiers who pursue him. He tells Aretaphile that a band of followers is collecting about him and

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[1] II, 1. [2] The original has *boit*. [3] II, 5.

that he is getting aid from neighboring powers. After he leaves, Aretaphile plans to win over Cleandre, brother of Nicocrate, by giving him her sister, Belise, in marriage.

With the beginning of the fourth act, Nicocrate has forgotten his love for Aretaphile and is seeking to win the favor of Belise, now married to his brother. She shows his letter to her husband and then lures Nicocrate to a rendezvous, in order to have him put to death. He comes, as she has directed, disguised as a certain Aniser, whom Cleandre has engaged a courtier to kill. In the dark the courtier is deceived by Nicocrate's disguise and strikes him dead. He cries only "je suis mort." A soldier soon stumbles over the dead body, draws it into the moonlight, and recognizes the king. A picturesque setting is furnished by the night, the moonlight, and the going and coming of the various persons connected with the crime.

The author has succeeded in keeping Aretaphile innocent of this murder, planned by her sister and Cleandre, but in doing so he has allowed her to fall into the background. She reappears after Cleandre has succeeded his brother on the throne, when, in spite of Belise's advice, he, too, has determined to reign despotically. He has not long to do so, as Philarque comes against Cyrene with an army and Aretaphile joins him outside the walls. Philarque plans with a *conseiller* to capture Cleandre by proposing to parley with him half-way between the two armies. When Cleandre hears of this, he is cast into great perplexity until he is shamed by Aretaphile into venturing to meet Philarque. His fears are soon realized, for he is seized by his enemies; but, instead of being put to death, as in Plutarch, he is pardoned by the new king, who is unwilling to mar the joy of his restoration to the throne and his marriage to Aretaphile.

This analysis shows the structural weakness of the play. The author has preferred a romance to a story of brutal patriotism and has accordingly softened his characters and reduced their crimes. There is no longer a central figure planning to bring about the *dénouement*. There is a series of events, caused by different persons, which do not necessarily lead up to each other and most of which might be omitted without affecting the ending of the play. The unity of action is violated by digressions also and by the fact that too much of importance takes place between the acts. The time involved is many months, perhaps years.

The place is within the walls of Cyrene and a short distance outside them. It is described in Mahelot's *Memoire*[1] as follows:

"Il faut, au Milieu du theatre, Vn Palais caché, ou il y ayt Vn tombeau et des Armes, de la bougie, des larmes, du Soucy, deux piramides Ardantes; au deuant de ce palais, Vn autre palais, pour Vn Roy. A Vn des costez du theatre, Vne grande tour, et de lautre costé Vne chambre fermée; Des tableaux, Vne table, des flambeaux, dedans La chambre; au troisiesme Acte, il se faict Vne nuict; il faut deux Menottes ou chaisnes, deux fiolles, Vn chapeau de fleurs, Vne ficelle, ou lon attache Vne Lettre."

The properties here indicated show how little attention is paid to local color. The flowers and trees mentioned[2] and the customs depicted are French rather than African. The desert is of no importance. Indeed, some proper names, an occasional reference to a plurality of gods, and a "demon tutelaire"[3] are the only means used to give the piece an African setting. Plutarch's *gynæceum* and his use of a sack for drowning the usurper are not imitated.

While the chief interest is in the situations, some of which have considerable dramatic power, the study of character has not been altogether neglected. Aretaphile has lost the ferocity which distinguished her in Plutarch, and with it much of her force and ingenuity. She now accomplishes little besides her own pardon from the charge of poisoning, and the marriage of her sister to Cleandre. She uses her powers in insipid soliloquies on love and sorrow, and in devising means of reuniting herself to Poliarque. Belise appears little, except in the fourth act, where her outraged virtue rouses her to bring about the murder of Nicocrate. The latter is the chief male figure. As a rejected lover, a usurping tyrant, a man who allows himself to be deceived by the woman who has attempted to murder him, he plays an interesting rôle of some complexity. Since fickleness is hardly consistent with the rest of his character, his love of Belise is not convincing. As I have said, it seems unfortunate for the unity of interest that Nicocrate and Cleandre are not merged, but something is gained by the actual arrangement, for the murder of Nicocrate and its attendant scenes of plotting are made possible, while the author has an opportunity to show his talent by the manner in

[1] Folio 35 v° and 36. [2] III, 12. [3] II, 10.

which he distinguishes the brave tyrant from his timid brother. Cleandre's cowardice serves to differentiate the two men and suits well the rôle he plays at the end. Philarque is a colorless hero, possessed of the usual virtues and fashionable wit of Du Ryer's time. There are minor characters worthy of mention, especially the virtuous and platitudinous king, the sturdy priest of Apollo, the attendant who follows Nicocrate faithfully through his crimes, only to be dismissed without cause, and Ariste, a politic friend to Philarque, the furnisher of his disguises and his representative at Cyrene during his exile.

There are sixteen persons besides a number of soldiers. They provide the tragi-comedy with movement and variety, contrasting with the small cast used by Du Ryer in his classic tragedies. The later psychological plays are predicted by occasional conflicts of emotions, acted or described.[1] The dialogue is sometimes concise and forcible, but often it is marred by *concetti*, mixed metaphors, and *chevilles*. The soliloquies are too long. Indeed, much in both style and structure indicates that this is a first play, but the author already shows freedom in the treatment of his source, the ability to characterize certain persons, and to create situations of dramatic power.

Clitophon, the other play found in this manuscript, was certainly acted, as it appears in Mahelot's *Memoire* and was advertised to be played at the Hôtel de Bourgogne during the Carnival fortnight of the year 1634.[2] The play is based on a Greek romance, the *Clitophon and Leucippe* of Achilles Tatius.[3] The original story, an erotic Odyssey, stuffed with remarkable adventures and insipid sentimentality, has been closely followed by the dramatist, except in a few events, omitted for the sake of decency or probability. Like *Aretaphile* the play begins too soon and introduces into the first act persons of seeming importance who do not appear again. The dramatist relates few of the adventures that in the original precede the elopement of the lovers. He omits the lengthy dissertations on various forms of love, the tirade against women, and a number of descriptions. When the play begins, Lucipe is living with her mother at Tyre, where

[1] See IV, 2, 5.

[2] See Fournier, *Variétés historiques*, Paris, 1855, II, 345–355, and p. 62 below.

[3] See *Erotici Scriptores*, 27, *seq.*, Paris, 1885. Cf. Lancaster, *The French Tragi-Comedy*, 125.

Clitophon has fallen in love with her. Pirates come to carry her off, but by mistake they seize another girl. Her mother, frightened by the incident, insists upon leaving town, and thus forces her daughter to elope with Clitophon. The lovers are accompanied by Satire, a faithful servant, who persuades them to go to his father's house at Alexandria. On the way they are shipwrecked and separated. Satire is found by his father, Menelas, who has been forced by pirates in the Egyptian Delta to make for them their human sacrifices. The lovers fall into the hands of these pirates and Menelas is ordered to sacrifice them. But the troops of Charmide, King of Alexandria, attack the pirates with such success that Clitophon escapes. He is well received by the Alexandrians, but is soon horrified to see that Lucipe is about to be sacrificed by the pirates on a "montagne" in sight of both armies. He sees the knife plunged into her bosom, and falls fainting to the earth when prevented by his new friends from going to her rescue.

The third act begins with his lamentations. He has found Lucipe's tomb and is about to kill himself on it, when he is surprised by Satire and Menelas and learns from them that Lucipe is alive. The fact that the sacrifice was performed at some distance from the pirates had enabled Menelas to open a bag of blood, placed for this purpose on Lucipe's breast, and thus appear to kill her. He had put her in a coffin, where she remained till night. They now all escape to the Alexandrians, and the lovers, passing for brother and sister, are protected by Charmide. But a new difficulty arises. As in the case of Abraham and Sarah, the ruler seeks to marry the woman who has represented herself as her lover's sister. Fortunately, however, Charmide is killed in a duel with Busire, leader of the pirates. The lovers are about to be united, when a certain Cherée, follower of Charmide, succeeds in carrying off Lucipe in a boat and eludes Clitophon's pursuit by pretending to behead Lucipe and throw her body into the water.[1]

With the fourth act we come upon elements of a domestic comedy. Clitophon, mourning Lucipe, has arrived at Ephesus, where his grief is intensified by his meeting Clinias and receiving

[1] This event is not represented on the stage; for Hardy's different treatment of the same situation, drawn from the same source, cf. Lancaster, *Two Lost Plays by Alexandre Hardy*, *Modern Language Notes*, May, 1912.

through him his father's consent to his marriage. We learn that the hero is now pursued by the attentions of a wealthy widow called Melite, whose husband has been recently lost at sea:

> "Elle se désespere elle accuse les Cieux
> Elle veut arracher et son cœur et ses yeux
> Enfin elle parut tellement desolée
> Qu'en moins de quatre jours elle fut consolée."[1]

Melite sends her maid, and then comes in person, to implore Clitophon's favor, but he still thinks only of Lucipe and refuses to accept her proposals. Lucipe, of course, is not dead. Anyone who has followed the history of her previous escapes is not surprised to learn that it was another woman whom Cherée killed in the sight of Clitophon and that Lucipe was preserved spotless on her abductor's boat, till she made her escape while the men who carried her off were fighting over her. She is living as an attendant at the house of one of Melite's farmers and is ordered by Melite to intercede for her with Clitophon. She thus learns that Clitophon still loves her, though his failure to recognize her has made her doubt it.

New complications are caused by the arrival of Tersandre, husband of Melite, who has escaped from the shipwreck in which he was supposed to have perished. Clitophon is immediately arrested for adultery and thrown into prison, where his lament forms the subject of stanzas that suggest those in *Polyeucte*. Tersandre next seeks to seduce Lucipe, who escapes to the Temple of Diana. He then hires a man to pretend to have been arrested for the murder of Lucipe. Clitophon, hearing the man's confession, wishes to die also, and represents himself as her murderer, in order that he may be put to death. The court, having acquitted Clitophon of the charge of adultery, is in doubt how to act in the matter of his confession and is about to leave the decision to the gods, when certain Byzantines come to offer thanks to the goddess for their deliverance from civil war. Among them is Lucipe's father, who execrates Clitophon when he learns of Lucipe's fate. At this moment, however, Lucipe enters and everything is explained. Tersandre, induced to confess his part in the matter, is pardoned at Melite's request, while the hero and heroine are at last united.

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[1] IV, 5.

Du Ryer has not yet acquired constructive power. He bewilders us by the number of his characters and the rapidly changing, loosely joined scenes. The dramatic struggle is between the lovers and fate. Interest in their marriage is the only thing that unifies the play, for there is no unity of action, the place includes localities in Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor, and the time covers several months at least. The complexity of the setting is shown by Mahelot's[1] requirements:

"Au Milieu du theatre Vn temple fort superbe qui sert au 5me Acte est le plus beau du theatre, enrichy de lierre, dor clinquant balustres, termes ou colomnes, Vn tableau de Diane; au Milieu de lautel deux chandeliers garnis de chandelles. A vn costé du theatre il faut vne prison en tour ronde; que la grille soit fort grande et basse pour voir trois prisonniers. A costé de la prison il faut Vn beau Iardin spacieux orné de ballustres, de fleurs, et de pallissades. de lautre costé du theatre il faut Vne Montaigne esleuée. Sur ladicte montagne Vn tombeau, Vn pilier, Vn carquan, et Vn Autel boccager de Verdure et Rocher, ou Lon puisse monter sur ledict rocher deuant le peuple. A costé du Rocher Vn Antre, Vne mer, Vn demy vaisseau. Sous le rocher faire paraistre Vne prison pour deux personnes, qui soit Cachée. il faut du Sang, des esponges, Vne petite peau pour faire la feinte du cou du sacrificateur, Vn chapeau de fleurs, vn flambeau de Cire; il se fait Vne Nuict Si lon veut; il faut des turbans pour des turcs, des dards, des Iavelots, tambours, trompettes, des chesnes, des clefs, vne robe de conseiller, deux bourguinottes, de la Verdure, Vne lanterne sourde et Vne chandelle dedans."

The Turks are Mahelot's own naïve addition, but the mountain in the Egyptian Delta is due to Du Ryer, for there is no mention of it in the Greek original. Its introduction makes the scene more picturesque and helps to explain why the sacrificer's fraud was not perceived. The geographical absurdity of it probably disturbed the audience as little as it did Du Ryer.

There is almost no character study. The lovers are devoted, chaste, unintelligent; their friends, faithful and resourceful; the villains are differentiated from one another, though little developed. Busire is a despot; Cherée, a traitor; Tersandre, a jealous husband and sensual lover. The most interesting personality is that of Melite, the amorous widow, sentimental, self-seeking, kindly, and ineffective. The character is repeated in the Rodope of *Alcimedon*.

[1] *Memoire*, fol. 47 v° and 48.

The proprieties are more carefully preserved than in the Greek romance. Blood replaces entrails in the sack attached to Lucipe. As Melite does not marry Clitophon, nor accompany him from Egypt to Ephesus, she is not guilty of adultery or polyandry. The oracular test of virtue is omitted. Other elements of *préciosité* are found in references to the rules of love and in Lucipe's punning as she is taken from the coffin. Indeed the subject seems to have appealed to the *précieux*, for Clitophon was the fashionable name given the abbé Cotin.[1]

In short, this is the least artistic of Du Ryer's plays. The success it met must have been due to its varied incidents and its complex setting, unless the insipid dialogue, the mechanical characters, the surprises of the plot had attractions for a seventeenth century audience that are not apparent now.

For the plots of his first two plays Du Ryer had gone to Plutarch's semi-historical narrative and to a Greek romance. For the next he turned to a contemporary novel which had some likeness to his previous sources by its use of an ancient tongue, its variety of romantic adventures, its superficial psychology, its happy ending in spite of the efforts of a series of villains. John Barclay published his Latin novel, *Argenis*, at Paris in 1621 and at least six editions had appeared by 1630. The length of the story forced Du Ryer to divide his play into two five-act divisions or *journées*,[2] one of which, called *Argenis et Poliarque ou Theocrine*, was published in 1630 and the other, called *Argenis*, in 1631. A preface to the first of these praises Barclay's work and explains that the first *journée* treats the birth of the lovers' passion, while "bien tost une seconde iournee vous fera voir la suitte de leurs aduentures."

In his two previous plays Du Ryer commenced to dramatize the stories near their beginnings, so that most of the exposition is acted. In his later plays he began, like other classicists, in the middle of his story, leaving the exposition to conversations in which his actors refer to past events. *Argenis et Poliarque* and *Argenis* show the transition from one method to the other in an interesting way.

Barclay himself began in the middle of the story and acquainted his reader with what had already happened, partly by

[1] Livet, *Dictionnaire des Prétieuses*, I, 61.

[2] An occasional custom of the time. Cf. Mareschal's *Genereuse Allemande* in two *journées* and Hardy's *Theagene et Cariclee* in eight.

relation in the first book, more largely by the secret interview between Radirobanes and Selenissa in the third and the narrative told by Gobrias in the fourth. Du Ryer followed him closely in the second *journée*, where he made Selenisse relate the events that had formed the subject of the first. Thus this second *journée* forms a complete play, while the first does not. When the two plays were acted together, the story was dramatized from the beginning, after the manner of *Aretaphile* or *Clitophon*, but if the second *journée* were given alone, there would be a nearer approach to the classic arrangement and at the same time a closer following of Barclay. It is probable that the two plays were first written to be given together, but that the author, finding that this arrangement produced too long a play, later introduced into the second *journée* speeches that told what had happened in the first, and thus made it possible to play this second part alone. The representation of the second *journée* without the first may be indicated by Mahelot, for he refers to the properties used only in the second *journée*, and mentions nothing that is found in the first and not in the second.

The first *journée* concerns the beginning of the love-affair between Poliarque and Argenis. It is based chiefly on Selenisse's narrative in the third book of Barclay's work, partly on narratives in his first and fourth books. Meleandre, King of Sicily, has shut up his daughter in a castle, where Selenisse must keep her from the sight of men. Licogene, a Sicilian prince, and Poliarque, King of France, seek to win her hand, the first using force, the second strategy. The two resulting plots are developed in turn and do not meet till the second scene of the fourth act.

Poliarque, who had fallen in love with the portrait of Argenis, left his kingdom and, taking a girl's disguise and the name Theocrine, prevailed upon Selenisse to admit him into the castle, where he soon established himself in the favor of Argenis. One night Licogene attacked the castle and would undoubtedly have carried off Argenis and killed Meleandre, then on a visit to the house, had not Poliarque, in spite of his disguise as a woman, seized a sword and put the intruders to flight. The affair resulted in Poliarque's leaving the castle after he had revealed his sex to Argenis and told her of his love. Barclay states merely that the heroine was astonished at this information, but Du Ryer,

seeing in it an opportunity to describe a conflict of passion in a soul, makes Argenis hesitate between love and indignation at the liberty which her lover has taken. The latter gives her a sword, saying,

> "Si ie suis criminel, tenez voila dequoy
> Me punir d'vn forfaict commis soubs vostre loy."

Argenis prefers to await "vn iuste foudre," but she soon relents and allows her love and gratitude to prevail. The scene is thoroughly precious, interesting as a forerunner of the struggle of emotions in a single breast, so dear to classic writers. The resemblance between this scene and the *Cid*, III, 4, is apparent. There is, however, no direct influence on Corneille, for the latter states in his *Examen* that he drew this episode from the *Moceudades*.

The fifth act recounts Poliarque's return to the Sicilian court in man's attire, his friendly reception by the king, and his victory over Licogene, who, after his failure to abduct Argenis, has stirred up a rebellion and led his army against Meleandre. On the eve of the battle, Argenis recites stanzas to Minerva, which she intends to be understood by Poliarque as an assurance of her love for him. After the battle, Licogene and his followers determine to lay down their arms. The *journée* ends with the probability of peace, but with no assurance as to the result of the love affair that is its principal theme.

Argenis, the second *journée*, begins with the arrival in Sicily of Arcombrotte, the disguised son of the Queen of Mauretania. He has come seeking adventure, which he finds by helping Poliarque fight the assassins sent against him by Lycogene. After the enemy have been put to flight, he learns who Poliarque is and what has been going on in Sicily. Poliarque has left court because peace is about to be granted to Lycogene. They soon learn that the men who attacked Poliarque are the latter's ambassadors and that charges are being brought against Poliarque for having slain some of them. The latter accordingly takes refuge in a cave, while his friends spread a report that he is dead. Two troops of peasants, seeking Poliarque, arrest in his stead Arcombrotte and an insane man. Both are taken to court, where the former is entertained hospitably while the latter causes much amusement by his masquerading. Shortly after, Poliarque, disguised as a painter, succeeds in seeing Argenis before he leaves the

country. She tries in vain to prevent the confirmation of peace with Lycogene; the latter is pardoned and received into favor by the king.

New complications are caused by the arrival of Radirobane, King of Corsica and Sardinia, another victim to the charms of the heroine's portrait. Combining his forces with those of Meleandre, he succeeds in defeating Lycogene, whose head is brought to the stage on a lance by Arcombrotte. Radirobane is received as a suitor for the hand of Argenis and bribes Selenisse until she relates to him the events of the first *journée* and promises to win the princess for him. But Argenis remains faithful to Poliarque and soon learns that he is leaving for France to gather an army and return for her. Radirobane now lures Argenis to the seashore by a pyrotechnic display,[1] but his plot for carrying her off is disclosed. The heroine feigns sickness, precipitating a Molieresque dispute between two physicians, and thus escapes her suitor, who seeks revenge by slandering her in a letter to Meleandre. But Selenisse exculpates her, and the king decides to marry her to Arcombrotte as soon as the latter obtains his mother's consent.

Meanwhile Poliarque and his sister, Francinee, sailing with an army for Sicily, are separated by a storm, which drives him to Mauretania, her to Sicily. Welcomed by Hyanisbe, queen of the former country, Poliarque protects her against the invasion of Radirobane, whom he slays in single combat.[2] He now meets Arcombrotte, who is really Hyempsal, a Mauretanian prince. Their love for Argenis is about to bring them to blows, when Hyanisbe makes them promise to remain at peace till they return to Sicily. In that country Francinee has been hospitably received, Selenisse has committed suicide from remorse over her treachery, and all the court is eagerly awaiting the return of Poliarque and Arcombrotte. These princes arrive in the last scene and present the king with a letter from Hyanisbe, which informs him that Arcombrotte is his son by her sister, to whom he had been secretly married in his youth and who had died at the birth of his son. This discovery puts a stop, of course, to the rivalry of Arcombrotte, who solaces himself for the discovery

[1] The stage direction is, "feux d'artifice paroissent sur la mer."

[2] Poliarque, taunted in this scene (IV, 8) with having disguised himself as a painter, replies, "l'espee est mon pinceau"; the occurrence, in the *Pelerine amoureuse*, V, 3 (represented 1633–1634), of a similar disguise for the hero and exactly the same retort suggests that Rotrou is there imitating Du Ryer.

that Argenis is his sister by accepting the hand of Francinee, while Poliarque is finally united to the heroine.

The first *journée* is based on narratives that occur here and there in the novel. The greater part of the first three acts consists of preparatory interviews. The action scarcely begins before the second scene of the fourth act. There, indeed, is plenty of life and movement, a night attack for abduction and murder, a rescue by a man in woman's attire, who overcomes a whole band of ruffians, a declaration of love in which the hero gives his sword to his lady and bids her slay him if he has offended her. The fifth act contains little save a combat without result. The play remains distinctly introductory, serving chiefly to rouse our interest in the lovers and to explain the relation that exists between them at the beginning of the second *journée*.

Little attempt to follow the original verbally is made in this play, and many conversations are introduced which Barclay barely suggests. The song in the first scene of the second act is developed from the statement that Argenis was amused in various ways. Lycogene's encouraging remarks to his soldiers and Poliarque's curses in the fourth act are among Du Ryer's additions. Perhaps the nearest approach to direct imitation is the translation of "Ego inter obscuras fama gentes . . . famam nominis tui excipere potui" by

> "La voix du renom,
> Apporta iusqu'à nous ses vertus et son nom."[1]

Barclay expresses this fact in a letter brought by Poliarchus to Selenissa; Du Ryer, with more dramatic effect, has Poliarque speak it while he is conversing with Selenisse. For closer resemblances we must look to the second *journée*, which follows the order of Barclay's narrative with certain omissions and elaborations. The imitation is close when "O ut nunquam fuissem Poliarchus" is translated by,

> "Pleust au Ciel, grand Monarque,
> Que iamais sa rigueur ne m'eut fait Poliarque."[2]

On the other hand, Du Ryer changes the order of certain events and occasionally expands what is only slightly referred to by

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[1] Du Ryer, III, 1; Barclay, III, 312, edition of Leyden, 1630.
[2] The speech of the insane man, Barclay, I, 103; Du Ryer, II, 2.

Barclay. From the second book he omits Arcombrotte's rescue of the king and the murder of the coachman, the plot of the poisoned bracelet, the execution of Lycogene's advisers, Poliarque's shipwreck, combat with the pirates, discovery of the queen's jewels. From the fourth book he omits details of the battle; from the fifth, the adventures of Arsidas. Du Ryer alone makes Radirobane fall in love with Argenis's portrait. Barclay draws from the physicians' dispute the lesson that diagnosis is unreliable; Du Ryer uses it for comic effect.[1] The latter omits many incidents of the battle between Poliarque and Radirobane, but he develops the dialogue between the two leaders.

The plan of this *journée* resembles that of Calderón's *Argenis y Poliarco*, which appeared in 1637, but the resemblance is due to their having a common source and not to direct imitation, for the Spanish play is nearer the original than it is to the French, though it departs from its source enough to concentrate its interest on the lovers and Arcombrotte and improves the characterization of the minor persons. Du Ryer's unity is that of interest rather than of action. Many of the episodes could easily be omitted. Lycogene and Radirobane would make a more distinct impression if they were united into one character.[2] If we consider the second *journée* alone, Arcombrotte presents the same difficulty in Du Ryer that he does in Calderón, for he is a person with whom we are supposed to sympathize, although he is opposed to Poliarque during most of the play. But if the two *journées* are taken together, our interest in Poliarque has been established in the first, before the introduction of Arcombrotte. In this respect Du Ryer is superior to Calderón and finds some justification for his first *journée*.

The time and place of the plays are as varied as in any of Du Ryer's productions. The scene is laid in France, Sicily, and Africa. The time must cover a year or more. The properties required for the representation are quite elaborate, more so than Mahelot[3] indicates:

"Il faut, au Milieu du theatre, Vn Autel fort riche, deux flambeaux et des Lumieres, Vn rechaut, de Lencens; a Vn des costez du theatre, Vn feu d'artifice, dans Vne Mer et caché. de lautre costé Vne grotte, Vne lance, Vne teste feinte et des trompettes."

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[1] Barclay, II, 396; Du Ryer, IV, 3.

[2] Calderón omits one and barely mentions the other.

[3] Fol. 37 v° and 38.

The play depends for interest on the spectacular. Several combats, the return of victors with the head of the vanquished leader, a sacrifice to the goddess, and fireworks are among its attractions. There are also appeals to the patriotism of the crowd in the fact that the hero is King of France and in the sentiment expressed by the lines:

> "La valeur se nourrit dans le sein de la France,
> Elle à [*sic*] tousiours faict voir que ses moindres guerriers
> Arracheroient à Mars ses plus riches lauriers."[1]

The characters are treated in melodramatic fashion. The bravest of heroes loves the fairest and most virtuous of women; their love is crossed by two monstrous villains, a treacherous duenna, a weak father and an admirable prince, who discovers that he is the brother of the heroine and consoles himself by marrying the sister of the hero. The plot is developed by commonplace romantic means: disguises, combats, attempts at seduction and abduction, shipwrecks, the recognition of a lost son.

Nevertheless there is promise of a successful dramatic career in the appreciation of what will please an audience. Du Ryer has learned the value of an interesting situation and has experimented in the conflict of passions in a soul. He does not forget to bring the hero and heroine together as often as possible, even at the expense of the probabilities. He seeks to interest the audience in Francinee by introducing her in the fourth act, instead of following his source in merely mentioning her at the end of the work. By his omission of the lower classes, the refining of his characters, and his greater care for well-turned phrases, he is advancing towards the attitude of the early classicists.

For the last play of this first series, *Lisandre et Caliste*, Du Ryer got his plot, not only from a contemporary, as in the case of Argenis, but from one who wrote in French and laid his scene in modern France. The source is the *Histoire tragi-comique de notre temps*, Paris, 1615, by Henry d'Audiguier, republished at Leyden in 1650 as *Histoire des amours de Lysandre et de Caliste*. Du Ryer showed a greater power of selection here than in his previous works, in which he had dramatized most of the incidents found in his sources, for he passed over the first five of the ten books that compose the romance, omitting the beginning of the love affair between Lisandre and Caliste and its progress up to the former's

[1] *Argenis et Poliarque*, V, 2.

return from Spain, as well as the events that immediately preceded the death of Cleandre. He utilized the events of the last five books, following their general order and making some omissions.

The play begins with a combat between Lisandre and two of his enemies, whom he slays one after the other. Obliged to flee from justice, he tells Caliste farewell and is aided by her husband, Cleandre, to escape. A more serious charge is soon brought against him, for a certain Leon, surprised in Caliste's bed-chamber, slays Cleandre with Lisandre's sword, which he has picked up on the duelling ground. Caliste, whose relations with Lisandre are not criminal, is not to blame for Leon's presence in her room, as he was introduced there by her maid, who believed that her mistress would be away that night. Nevertheless, the fact of Lisandre's intimacy with Caliste, the false accusation brought against him by the maid, the discovery of his sword in the room, and his disappearance make it appear that he and Caliste are guilty of Cleandre's murder.

The second act begins, like the seventh book of the romance, with Caliste imprisoned in the *chastelet* and Lisandre trying to get her out. This he does by bribing the jailer and a butcher, whose house faces the prison. Just before he takes her out of prison, we have a scene worthy of a comedy of manners and contrasting pleasantly with the romantic incidents that precede and follow it. The butcher objects to Lisandre's frequent visits to his house, which may cause gossip. His wife reminds him of the money they gain from these visits, but he insists upon the danger:

> "Si quelqu'un s'apperçoit
> Que nous fauorisons le dessein qu'il conçoit,
> Ie crains d'en receuoir du reproche et du blasme,
> Et qu'on mette au cachot *gros guillaume* et sa femme:
> A ne t'en point mentir et sans en rien celer
> C'est la le vray moyen d'aller mourir en l'air,
> Quelque somme d'argent qui nous soit asseurée
> Bon renom vaut bien mieux que ceinture dorée."

Lisandre interrupts them disguised as a *tirelayne* and is at first told to be off, but he brings the butcher round by telling him his name and giving him a chain. The butcher, in spite of his wife's scoffing, remarks:

> "Cet homme a dans l'humeur ie ne sçay quoy d'aimable
> Qui me charme l'esprit et me rend plus traitable."

This scene has the characteristics of the farce: the domestic quarrel, the mention of Gros Guillaume,[1] the introduction of the lower classes, the location in the streets of Paris, the maxims, common sense, and avarice of the husband, the wife's shrewdness and her partiality to the noble lover. It is probably inspired largely by contemporary farces rather than by the romance, which suggests the incident, but treats it gravely.

Caliste is now brought out of prison and taken home, where her mother receives her joyfully, but her father with misgivings, for he fears the laws. Du Ryer omits the lovers' trip to Belgium and minor events of the eighth book. Adraste, father of Lisandre, bids him cease his adventurous life and marry Hippolite, who loves him well. This command produces a struggle between love and duty:

> "Quay [*sic*]-ie enfin resolu? la nature a son tour
> Me parle de respect, et Caliste d'amour."

He decides in favor of Caliste, but, when he is with Hippolite, he encourages her to believe that he loves her and thus gets his father's permission to his going to court. The news is brought that he is pardoned for the death of one of his enemies and may fight in single combat to prove his innocence in the case of the second, after which he will still have to answer for Cleandre's murder. But before Lisandre hears this, he leaves for a tournament in England.

The fourth act is concerned with the combat to prove Lisandre's guilt or innocence. The challenger, Lucidan, presents himself before the king and the court, but Lisandre is still absent. Then Adraste, Caliste, and Hippolite arrive, each wearing armor and unrecognized. The casting of lots decides that Hippolite shall fight for Lisandre against Lucidan, and she does so until a certain Beronte arrives with proof of Lisandre's innocence in regard to the duel. The king pardons him for everything except the murder of Cleandre and the fight ends. When Hippolite takes off her helmet, she causes general admiration and Lucidan falls in love with her. Caliste, sure that she is her successful rival, retires from the field with thoughts of suicide. Meanwhile Lisandre, delayed by a shipwreck on his way home, discovers Leon weeping over his treachery in a "desert affreux" and prevails upon him to accompany him to Paris.

[1] Stage name of the celebrated actor, Robert Guérin.

In the fifth act Hippolite, again disguised by her helmet, is taken by Lisandre for Caliste, and is thus informed that her own love for him is hopeless. She reveals her identity and upbraids Lisandre for inconstancy, but she admits Caliste's superior attractions and consoles herself by accepting Lucidan. Before this is done, preparations are made for a second combat, which is avoided only by Leon's confession. Lisandre, thus acquitted of Cleandre's murder, is united to Caliste, and Hippolite weds Lucidan. A ridiculous lovers' quarrel at the end of the original is happily omitted.

A series of adventures, loosely joined by an interest in the safety and marriage of the lovers, constitutes the matter of the play. None of the unities are preserved. The location in almost contemporary France is noteworthy. The stage setting is elaborate, as the following citation from Mahelot[1] shows:

"Il faut, au Milieu du theatre, Le petit chastelet de la Rue de Sainct Jacques et faire paroistre Vne rue ou sont Les bouchers, et de la Maison dun boucher faire Vne fenestre qui soit vis a vis dune Autre fenestre grillée pour la prison, ou lisandre puisse parler a Caliste. il faut que cela soit caché durant le Premier Acte, et lon ne faict paraistre cela quau Second Acte et se referme Au Mesme Acte. La fermeture sert de Palais. A Vn des costez du theatre, vn hermitage sur Vne Montaigne, et Vn antre Au dessoubs, dou sort Vn hermitte; delautre costé du theatre, il faut Vne chambre ou lon entre par derrierre esleuée de deux ou trois Marches; des Casques, des bourguinottes, des rondaches, des trompettes et Vne espée qui se demonte, il faut aussy Vne Nuict."

Like *Argenis*, the play is full of movement and appeal to the romantic imagination. There are duels, an assignation, a murder, an escape from prison, two trials by combat, disguises, and recognitions. In the last scene the king strikes a patriotic note by referring to the victories of "nos premiers Rois." It is unnecessary to dwell on the improbability of many situations or the slight attempt at characterization. Lisandre is weak in the presence of his father and Hippolite, and seems unable to accomplish anything for himself after the first two acts. Caliste, like Aretaphile a married heroine, mourns for her dead husband and her absent lover, but she shows no conflict in her soul between duty and

[1] *Memoire*, folio 13 v° and 14. The design that accompanies this has been reproduced in the *Archives de l'Académie Nationale de Musique* and in Petit de Julleville's *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, IV, 354. Cf. also *Exp. Univ. de 1878. Catalogue du ministère de l'instruction publique des cultes et des beaux-arts*, Paris, 1878, and Rigal, *Alexandre Hardy*, Paris, 1889, 681.

love. In the last part of the play she is no more important than Hippolite, who is a more modern likeness of Garnier's militant Bradamante. Some effort is made to characterize Caliste's canny father and affectionate mother as well as the comic persons of the second act. By virtue of its comic scenes and the success with which Du Ryer reduces a large amount of material to comparatively orderly form, it is the most creditable of his early tragi-comedies.

The subordinate rôle of Clarinde, the heroine's maid, deserves special notice. Since she is, as far as I know, the first *suivante* on the French stage, her appearance marks the change from the stiff and conventional nurse, inherited from Seneca, to the young female attendant, with her attractive personality and her love affairs. The importance of the substitution is shown by Corneille in the *Examen* to his *Galerie du Palais*, where he writes:

"Le personnage de nourrice, qui est de la vieille comédie, et que le manque d'actrices sur nos théâtres y avoit conservoit jusqu'alors, afin qu'un homme le pût représenter sous le masque, se trouve ici metamorphosé en celui de suivante, qu'une femme représente sur son visage."[1]

This passage has been taken to mean that Corneille was the first French author to introduce the *suivante*, but it is evident that Du Ryer preceded him in this respect by about three years.

In these five plays Du Ryer pleases the popular taste and gains a certain mastery in his art, but his work is more important in tendency than achievement. The subjects are chosen from romantic stories as crowded with events as they are lacking in the study of manners and character. As the audience is assured by the name, tragi-comedy, that the lovers will be finally happy, there is little terror or pity excited by their temporary misfortunes. Admiration is roused by fidelity in love or by feats of physical prowess, not by a sterner adherence to duty or ambition.

Aretaphile taught Du Ryer to expand a brief tale into a full-length play; *Clitophon*, to contract his source and express in dialogue what had been told as a story; *Argenis* and *Lisandre et Caliste*, to begin his plot in the middle and expose the previous events in the dialogue, as well as to omit the unessential. He learns to keep his hero and heroine before the audience and to create interesting situations. But he still starts his plays too

[1] Cf. edition of Marty-Laveaux, Paris, 1862, II, 14.

soon and introduces unnecessary persons into them. The first plays sinned by their succession of largely independent episodes; *Lisandre et Caliste*, by the simultaneous development of several plots. Sentimental and narrative monologues are employed to excess. The *dénouement* in *Argenis* and *Lisandre et Caliste* is due to chance discoveries that are almost equivalent to the introduction of a *deus ex machinâ*. In the other plays the difficulties from which the lovers escape in the end are largely independent of those that confront them in the beginning, except in so far as all difficulties are connected with the problem of the lovers' marriage. In short, Du Ryer is as far from the classic ideal of the unity of action as he is from that of time and place.

The characters are not complex. Interest centers in the young lovers, the friends who help and the enemies who oppose the progress of their love. The persons are taken chiefly from the aristocracy. The middle and lower classes are represented by attendants, groups of peasants, or bands of soldiers, all lacking individuality, or occasionally by persons introduced for comic effect; but, in spite of their subordinate positions, they clear the way for the important rôle played by the *bourgeoisie* in the *Vendanges de Suresne*. As love is dominant in these plays and as fidelity to this emotion and valor in defense of its objects are the leading virtues represented, there is little opportunity for a struggle between duty and passion or between conflicting emotions. Exceptional cases, which predict the conflicts of *Alcionée* and *Themistocle*, have been noted, but nowhere is such a struggle highly developed or made the leading theme of the play.

The interest in the spectacular, which replaces the study of character, is shown in the elaborate setting, the use of darkness and moonlight, fireworks, armed combats, royal palaces contrasting with dungeons, flowers, trees, a mountain, the sea, and other romantic paraphernalia. To these effects the style corresponds, with its misplaced cleverness, its epigrams, its occasional lyric and comic passages. There is throughout an exuberance of superficial imagination that must be curbed before any real progress will be made in the author's work. The next chapter will show how he achieved this progress by developing certain tendencies of these early plays at the expense of certain others.

Chapter III.

TRAGI-COMEDIES OF THE MIDDLE PERIOD, PASTORAL, COMEDY.

The five plays treated in this chapter represent several *genres*. *Alcimedon* and *Clarigene* are romantic tragi-comedies, constructed under classical influence; *Cleomedon* is an heroic tragi-comedy resembling Du Ryer's earlier plays; *Amarillis* is a pastoral; the *Vendanges de Suresne*, though related to it, has sufficient comic elements to justify its classification as a comedy. These plays represent Du Ryer's chief effort at painting manners and developing comic situations. The stress is laid on analysis of sentiment rather than variety of incident, but the plot is still of considerable importance. The group holds a middle position between the tragi-comedies of his youth and the tragedies he was soon to write.

During Du Ryer's life, Pellisson[1] mentioned *Amaryllis* as one of his plays, adding that it had been printed without the author's consent. A pastoral called by this name was printed anonymously in 1650[2] by Toussainct Quinet, who published nothing else by Du Ryer. There seems no reason for doubting that Du Ryer wrote such a play. The fact that the edition appeared anonymously and issued from the press of a printer with whom he had no dealings suggests that the work is his. The frères Parfaict,[3] although they list the piece under Du Ryer's name, doubt the authorship on the ground that it is "mal construit, bassement versifié, et en même-temps plein d'obscénités, et d'équivoques grossieres." But I do not see that the versification is inferior to that of his other early plays and the vulgar

[1] *Histoire de l'Academie Françoise*, Paris, 1653, 556.

[2] The privilege is dated Sept. 26, 1650; the *achevé d'imprimer*, Sept. 22, 1650. The fact that it was printed before it was licensed may have been due to fear that the author would prevent the publication. The title-page is dated 1651. This play has been confused in Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.*, IV, 387, with a very successful play of the same name, written by Tristan l'Hermite after Rotrou's *Celimene*.

[3] *Histoire du théâtre françois*, VII, 279.

passages are no more frequent than was customary in pastorals of the time. It possesses the usual weakness and insipidity of the *genre* and is no better or worse than many another pastoral. It is impossible to deny the authorship on such internal evidence.

On the other hand, we have a means of identifying the play beyond doubt, for Mahelot[1] gives the properties and scenery required for "Amarillis, pastorale de M. Durier":

"Il faut que le Milieu du theatre soit en pastoralle de verdure ou toille peinte; a Vn des costez du theatre, forme de Rocher et Antre; de lautre costé, forme de fontaine coullante ou seiche, et proche de la fontaine, Vn Antre. Au Milieu du Theatre, vn Arbre de verdure. Trois Chappeaux de fleurs et Vn bouquet, dards et houllettes."

Now this is just the setting required by the play in question. The rocks are repeatedly mentioned; "ces grottes sombres" and the "fontaine" are pointed out in the third scene of the fourth act; one of the caves is used conspicuously; the "arbre de verdure" figures at the end of the work, when the criminals are tied "à ce tronc"; the bouquet and two chaplets play an important part; and it is probable that a third chaplet was used in the opening scene between Amarillis and her two lovers. It follows that Mahelot,[2] independently of Pellisson, testifies to the play's authorship. From the evidence of these contemporaries of Du Ryer, I conclude that the play is his.

The mention of *Amarillis* at the beginning of Mahelot's *Memoire* indicates that it was played as early as 1633. Its structure suggests that it was written after *Lisandre et Caliste.* It is probable that it was first represented about 1631–1633. Nothing is known of the reception it was given, except what may be inferred from Du Ryer's unwillingness to have it published and the length of time it awaited a printer.

M. Marsan[3] states that *Amarillis* is an adaptation of Rolland Brisset's *Dieromene,*[4] and that this is in turn an imitation of Luigi Grotto's *Pentimento amoroso.*[5] As he cites no evidence to

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[1] *Memoire*, fol. 9 v° and 10.

[2] The fact that Mahelot fails to mention a paper, cord, and knife needed in the play does not injure the force of the evidence, for his lists are not always complete. Cf., for example, his requirements for *Argenis* or *Alcimedon.*

[3] *La pastorale dramatique*, 517.

[4] Tours, 1591 and 1592; Paris, 1595, 1598, and 1609.

[5] Venice, 1576.

show that *Amarillis* is not taken directly from the Italian and as I have been unable to find a passage in which Du Ryer follows Brisset more closely than Grotto, it is quite possible that Brisset had no influence upon him. Whether he did or not, M. Marsan is undoubtedly correct in declaring Grotto's play to be the ultimate source of Du Ryer's, for not only do the two pastorals have almost the same plot and characters, but there are many instances of direct translation from Italian into French verse.[1] Du Ryer shows knowledge of his audience by eliminating supernatural elements, omitting a useless shepherdess, explaining the motives of certain characters, uniting the various interests by a central love-affair, omitting certain scenes and shortening others. Unfortunately he complicates the already involved plot by the addition of two old men and does little to give his characters greater distinction than they had in the original.

The plot chiefly concerns Phillidor and Amarillis, crossed in their love for each other by rivals, who, in their turn, are loved by other despairing shepherds and shepherdesses. The faithful Phillidor and the fickle Ergaste begin the play by a long argument as to which is Amarillis's successful lover. Such favors as Phillidor cites, a blush, the gift of flowers, are declared by Ergaste to be evidence of her dislike. A fight is impending when the heroine enters with Phenicie and, on learning the cause of the dispute, gives her crown of flowers to Phillidor, takes Ergaste's from him, and leaves them to further discussion. After Phillidor has also left, his rival is told by another shepherdess, Calliree, that his love for Amarillis is hopeless, as the latter prefers Phillidor, although she is herself in love with him.

The second act introduces two old men in scenes that are typical of pastorals, though they do not occur in the *Pentimento*. Thelamon, father of Amarillis, makes love to Phenicie, daughter of Silvandre, only to be refused and ridiculed by both father and daughter. This Phenicie, we learn, is in love with Ergaste, who not only refuses to love her, but orders her to help his suit with Amarillis. They plot with Calliree to separate the hero and heroine by means of certain verses which Phillidor has promised to write to Amarillis.

Their scheme is carried out in the third act. Calliree gets the verses through her lover, Alcire, a friend of Phillidor. By

[1] Cf., for example, *Pentimento*, I, 1; II, 4; IV, 3, with *Amarillis*, I, 1; II, 2; IV, 7.

pretending that they were written to herself, she makes Amarillis believe that her lover has forsaken her. Next Alcire convinces Phillidor that Amarillis is unfaithful, by asserting that she has torn up his poem and producing the fragments as evidence. The lovers do not wait to ask each other for explanations, but each retires to mourn his loss in the depths of the forest.

Meanwhile neither Thelamon's threats nor Phenicie's entreaties have prevailed upon Amarillis to accept Ergaste, who is in consequence so angry with Phenicie that he directs his servant, Guillaume, to lead her into the woods and murder her. He promises Guillaume a cup and two sheep, if he will do the deed, and persuades the girl to accompany him by telling her she shall thus find a root that acts as a love potion. The scene at once shifts to where Phillidor is listening, hidden, to Amarillis's lament over the loss of her lover.[1] He thus learns of her fidelity, while she is assured of his by overhearing a conversation in which Calliree and Alcire speak of the trick they have played them. Thus reunited, Amarillis and Phillidor are interrupted in the expression of their joy by the arrival of Phenicie and Guillaume. The latter has been touched by his intended victim's devotion to Ergaste. He bids her not to make him weep by continuing to tell of her love for her persecutor. She replies that, when he pierces her heart, he must not disturb the image of Ergaste, engraved thereon. This conceit is too much for Guillaume. He bids her leave him, promising to pretend to his master that he has killed her and to produce in evidence his dagger, reddened with the blood of a sheep. When alone, Phenicie retires to a cave, where she discovers Phillidor and Amarillis.

The fifth act makes the happiness general. Calliree gives up her hopeless love for Phillidor and accepts Alcire. Thelamon says that if he can find Amarillis he will allow her to marry whom she pleases. Presently a crowd bring Ergaste and Guillaume to put them to death, according to forest law, in the place where the victim died. Ergaste has confessed his guilt and is full of praise

[1] IV, 4. She uses verses ending with the repetition of the last syllable by an echo, a common pastoral device; for example:

"Qui me fera connoistre
S'il me surnomme encor son cœur et son Soleil?"
"L'œil."

for Phenicie, but Guillaume warns them that they are killing an innocent man and begs for straw that their bodies may not be hurt in falling from the gallows. Then Amarillis, Phillidor, and Phenicie come out of the cave. The latter secures Ergaste's release by promising to marry him. As there is nothing left to separate the lovers, the pastoral ends in a triple marriage.

The play contains three plots, two of them taken from Grotto. The principal one, concerned with the love-making, quarrel, and reconciliation of Phillidor and Amarillis, is weakly motivated, for the easy deception of the lovers by their rivals' commonplace tricks is as inartistic as the method of reuniting them by conversations overheard in the depths of a forest. The second plot, dealing with Phenicie's love for Ergaste, would be brutal, if it were not absurd. If Ergaste is the monster he must have been to arrange the murder of Phenicie, we can not understand his repentance or his victim's love for him without a far more skilful dialogue than that given. The third plot is unnecessary and badly welded into the play. Except to contrast a woman's feelings towards an old lover and a young, to increase Amarillis's difficulties by giving her a tyrannical father, to add a comic scene, in which there is more vulgarity than wit, there seems to be no reason for this plot, with which Du Ryer complicates a story that already lacked simplicity.

The play requires at least two localities some miles apart in an Arcadian forest. Familiar to readers of pastorals is this country of springs, trees, flowers, and caves, governed by a mild monarch and his *sacrificateur*. His subjects are shepherds, still more refined than their Italian originals,[1] and shepherdesses from the court of Louis XIII. They are abstractions representing successful or unrequited love, love that employs treachery to gain its end, love that sacrifices its interests to the beloved's desires. There is no intensity in the expressions of passion. Some sensitive shepherds are easily made to believe their mistresses faithless, others readily resign themselves to a new love when they are unsuccessful with the old. There are also two fathers, one of whom laughs at the other's love-making, and a servant, Guillaume, whose love of the bottle and comments on sexual relations, fear of Ergaste, and sympathy for Phenicie give the play most of its humor and verisimilitude.

[1] Cf. the quarrel in *Amarillis*, I, 1, with that in the *Pentimento*, I, 1 and 5.

Some insistence is laid on the time of the action, for not only are there references to night and midday, but, at the end, a player declares that love has triumphed three times "dans l'espace d'vn iour." The style shows some formal variety in the representation of the echo, in the arguments by couplets, and in the use of the lyric meters of sonnets and *stances*,[1] but the dialogue is usually monotonous, especially in the interpretations of signs of love and the laments of unhappy lovers. The language is less picturesque than Grotto's, for Du Ryer's images are vague or commonplace. In short, it is easy to see why the author did not wish to have the play published. Its chief merit probably lies in the preparation it gave him for writing the similar, though far more estimable *Vendanges de Suresne*.

Three of Du Ryer's plays are mentioned in an advertisement of the attractions found at the Hôtel de Bourgogne during Carnival week, 1634:

"Allez-y tout le long de ceste quinzaine, et vous n'y manquerez pas de rire, ou il faudra que vous ayez la bouche cousue. Vous y verrez le *Clitophon* de Monsieur Durier, autheur de l'*Alcymedon;* ensuitte vous verrez le *Rossyleon* du mesme autheur, pièce que tout le monde juge estre un des rares subjects de l'Astrée . . . pièces quy sont autant d'aimans attractifs pour y faire venir non seulement les plus graves d'entre les hommes, mais les femmes les plus chastes et modestes, quy ne veulent plus faire autre chose maintenant que d'y aller."[2]

The first two of these plays are known. The third, Philipp[3] declares to be a lost play by Du Ryer. Rigal[4] wonders if it is the same as Pichou's unpublished pastoral, *les Avantures de Rosileon*, known only through Isnard's mention of it.[5] Fournier[6] jumps to the conclusion that it was "refait après ce pauvre Pichou" and never printed. As a matter of fact, the play was neither lost, unpublished, nor written by another author. It is simply *Cleomedon* under a different name, for the latter play is based on the story of Rosileon in the *Astrée*, a fact hitherto concealed by the change of the hero's name. Du Ryer must have brought out in 1634 a play called *Rossyleon* after its hero,

[1] Cf. I, 1; III, 1; IV, 3, 4.

[2] *L'Ouverture des jours gras*, Paris, 1634, reprinted by Fournier, *Variétés historiques*, Paris, 1855, II, 350–352.

[3] *Pierre Du Ryers Leben*, 21.

[4] *Alexandre Hardy*, 684.

[5] Preface to Pichou's *Filis de Scire*, Paris, 1631.

[6] *Le théâtre français au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle*, II, 69.

publishing it two years later, and changing the name of both the play and the hero to *Cleomedon*, perhaps to avoid confusion with Pichou's tragi-comedy on the same subject. Fournier's theory that Du Ryer imitates Pichou is valueless. He has no idea of what Du Ryer's play is, for he describes *Cleomedon* as a new play "d'un ton différent" from that of the *Rossyleon* he has just mentioned.

There is no doubt, then, that *Cleomedon*, as well as *Alcimedon*, was known to Parisian audiences at Carnival, 1634. The former play was published in 1636. As the author declares in his preface that it was born in Vendôme's house, it must have been written between the end of September, 1633, and the end of February, 1634. The wording of the advertisement and the fact that *Cleomedon* is not mentioned by Mahelot, whose first list was probably completed just before Carnival, 1634, make it highly probable that it was first played at this time. It is therefore more recent than *Alcimedon* and the *Vendanges*, which figure in Mahelot's first list. Of these last plays the author tells us that *Alcimedon* is the older. It probably came out in 1632.

Alcimedon was the first play that Du Ryer dedicated to the duc de Vendôme, the first published after his marriage and while he was the duke's secretary. It was the first, also, in which he paid attention to the unity of place. It is praised in the preface to *Aretaphile*, quoted above, and its success is referred to in the dedication of the *Vendanges de Suresne*. It is considered the author's title to fame in the *Ouverture des jours gras*. Du Ryer modestly declares in his dedication, "alors qu'*Alcimedon* receuoit de si fauorables applaudissemens, ie ne me considerois que comme vn mauuais Artisan, qui trouue quelquesfois par hazard, ce que les plus grands Maistres ne peuuent bien souuent rencontrer apres vne longue experience."

The source of the play is Eumathius's late Greek romance, *De Hysmines et Hysminiæ Amoribus*, printed at Paris by Gaulminus in 1617 or 1618 with both the Greek text and a Latin translation, and translated into French by Du Ryer's friend Colletet in 1625. The tedious narrative has been greatly reduced and several incidents and characters have been added. A free hand is used in changing names and eliminating undramatic and marvellous incidents. The names of the hero and heroine, which suffer in the Greek from being almost identical, are completely altered. The heroine's assumed name may be suggested by

references in the eighth book to Daphne and a city named after her. The name of the hero seems derived from Vergil's third Eclogue.[1] Rodope's name is retained. She is represented as a widow, not as the young daughter of Sosthenes. The lovers' parents do not appear on the stage, but the news of their arrival helps to bring about the marriage. The rôles of Nerine, Tirene, and Tracine are added, as are most incidents of the fourth and fifth acts. Du Ryer omits the heroine's escape from shipwreck on a dolphin's back, emphasizes the events leading up to the lovers' recognition, rather than the courtship, omits slavery, and introduces a new reason for the lovers' separation. The similarity of the versions consists in the fact that both of them concern lovers united after a long separation despite change of name and country, the man's belief that the woman is dead, and the opposition of a powerful woman, named Rodope, who is in love with the hero and has control of the heroine. In both accounts Rodope wooes the hero through the heroine, sending him notes and kisses by her without knowing that she is her preferred rival, and the lovers temporarily escape detection by pretending to be brother and sister.[2]

Alcimedon and Phenice loved each other at their home in Candia, till the girl's father, fearing the violence of a powerful neighbor, sent his daughter off to live with his brother in Cyprus[3] and circulated a report of her death. Now called Daphné, she has been intrusted by her uncle to Rodope, "grande dame, veufue, amoureuse de Scamandre," while he went on a journey. This Scamandre is no other than Alcimedon, who, when the play begins, has lately arrived in the country and fallen in love with Daphné, though he still mourns Phenice. Nerine, Daphné's confidante, discovers the identity of Scamandre and proves it to the

[1] The name *Alcimedon* does not occur in the editions of Gaulminus, Hercher, Hilberg, Fermin-Didot, nor in the translations of Carani (1550), Louveau (1559), or Colletet (1625), but the French analysis of the romance, published in the *Bibliothèque universelle des Dames*, Paris, 1785, IV, 15, mentions a gold basin "ciselé par le divin Alcimédon," apparently a translation of "cælatum divini opus Alcimedontis," Eclogue III, 35, 36. The fact that Du Ryer gives his hero the name which occurs in this eighteenth century adaptation of Eumathius, but not in the Greek original, suggests that he found it added under Vergil's influence to some edition of the romance which I have been unable to discover.

[2] The similarity between *Alcimedon* and the romance *Clitophon and Leucippe* is explained by the fact that *De Hysmenes et Hysminiæ Amoribus* is an imitation of this novel.

[3] For the place cf. I, 3.

heroine by means of a lock of her hair, which the lover has preserved. In comic fashion she mystifies Scamandre:

"Pour te dire en vn mot ce que tu dois aprendre,
Vn riual a causé la peine de Scamandre.
Sc.: Vn riual! di-le moy.
N.: Mais Daphné l'ayme bien.
Sc.: S'il veut garder son cœur, il faut qu'il ait le mien.
N.: Mais tu l'ayme [*sic*] Scamandre à l'egal de toy-mesme.
Sc.: Il est mon ennemy si ma maistresse l'ayme.
Mais où puis-ie trouuer ce glorieux riual
Qui reçoit le secours que lon doit à mon mal?
Nerine, di-le moy, rend ma rage contante,
Ie veux auoir son sang, si ie n'ay son amante.
Ou puis-ie le trouuer, Nerine di-le moy.
N.: Tous les iours, à toute heure, il est auecques toy."[1]

When Nerine has explained the situation to him and left the lovers together, the play, though now only in the fourth scene of the second act, seems about to end, but it is discovered that Rodope is herself in love with Scamandre and will refuse her consent to his marriage to her ward. To avoid difficulty, the lovers pretend to be brother and sister, a plan which at first deceives Rodope, who hopes to use the sister to attract the brother. A further complication is begun by a certain Tyrene, "gentilhomme de Rodope," who makes love unsuccessfully to Daphné. But while Daphné is gladly carrying kisses from Rodope to Scamandre, Nerine, ignorant of the lovers' stratagem, tells Rodope that they are "parfaits amants" and thus changes the comedy to a drama of jealousy and hatred. Rodope expresses her wrath like a tragic heroine:

"La plus prompte vengeance est tousiours la plus douce;
La colére se perd dans le retardement,
Et qui se vange tost, se vange doublement.
Entreprens, ose tout, passe iusques aux crimes
Donne à ta passion de sanglantes victimes,
Et montre qu'une femme a rarement appris
A souffrir sans vengeance un si lâche mépris."[2]

She accordingly makes Tyrene promise to obey her in the performance of a certain duty and then tells him that this duty

[1] II, 3. [2] III, 4.

is the murder of Daphné. Refusing explanations, Rodope bids him drown Daphné in the pond and leaves him in order to send Daphné to him. Tyrene, however, instead of carrying out this order, informs the girl of all that has happened. She thanks him warmly and bids him escort her to Nerine's house, but is overheard by Scamandre, who at once concludes that Daphné is false to him and in love with Tyrene. Nerine seizes the opportunity to advise Scamandre to give up Daphné for the widow. Rodope, now full of remorse, sends a messenger to prevent the execution of Daphné and a second to save Scamandre from assassins employed by one of her retainers, who believed him to be her enemy. After a scene in which, like Hermione, she reproaches the supposed assassin for carrying out her orders, she learns that Daphné is safe, but she still fears for the life of Scamandre.

The scene changes to the woods, presumably not far from Rodope's dwelling. Daphné, who is leaving the forest with Nerine, sees Geron about to slay Scamandre. By pretending to be exceedingly angry with her lover, she persuades Geron to let her kill him. She then hands over to Scamandre the sword she has obtained from his enemy and he speedily puts the latter and his assistants to flight. Daphné thus not only saves her lover's life, but proves her fidelity to him, while this incident together with her own escape has so moved Rodope that she is now ready to consent to her marriage to Scamandre, the more readily as Daphné reminds her of an old promise she has made to marry her to Alcimedon when he should be discovered.

Tyrene alone remains to be satisfied. He claims Daphné as his bride and even asserts that she has promised him her hand, but he is finally forced to give up his demand by news of the arrival of the lovers' fathers, just escaped from a shipwreck. They bless the marriage and report that the king is interested in its accomplishment. As this marriage was decided before their arrival except for the consent of Tyrene, which was not really necessary, the fathers can scarcely be considered gods from the machine. They contribute to the general joy rather than to the working out of the plot.

The two most noteworthy things about this play are its comparative simplicity of structure and the presence of comic elements. The events take place within twenty-four hours and all the places can be represented simultaneously without great

stretching of the imagination. The simplicity of the *mise en scène* is indicated by Mahelot[1]:

"Pour la decoration il faut faire Vn beau Iardin de compartimens, pallissades, Arbres, fruits, fleurs, et passage dans Ledit Iardin pour Vne Reyne qui sy promeine; de lautre costé du theatre il faut Vne grotte et bois de haute futaye; plus, deux Maisons fort belles comme colomnes, frise, ballustres au caprice du feinteur; il faut pour la piece des fleurets."

This concentration in space and time affects the action, which is no longer the loose succession of episodes that composed the earlier plays. It is true that there is an introductory plot ending in the recognition of the lovers in the middle of the second act, and that, from that time on, the course of the love-affair is impeded by the jealousy of Rodope, the resistance of Tyrene, the supposed unfaithfulness of Daphné, and the attempt to assassinate Scamandre. But the last incident serves to explain Daphné's fidelity and helps to win Rodope. As soon as the widow's consent to the marriage is gained, the struggle is at an end. There are three threads in the main portion of the plot, which are bound together, not closely enough for classic unity of action, but sufficiently to give the play much more unity than its predecessors possessed.

There is a mingling of tones. The opening scenes are largely comic. Rodope's delight at finding that the lovers are brother and sister, her use of her rival to send kisses to the man she loves, Daphné's rescue of her lover, and the *dénouement* are all worthy of comedy. The position of the persons is no longer royal or, with the exception of Rodope, even noble. In much of the play there is a bourgeois atmosphere that suggests the *Vendanges de Suresne*. At the same time, Rodope's jealous efforts at vengeance, her remorse, Tyrene's threats, and the attempt to assassinate the hero add the tragic situations that give the play its double nature.

The number of characters is reduced to eight, as in many classic tragedies. Tracine, Geron, and Philante, the hero's friend, fill very subordinate rôles. Tyrene, the unsuccessful lover, and Nerine, the comic go-between, are familiar types that do not call for comment. It is worthy of note that Daphné is more heroic than her lover, for she shows herself constant, brave, resourceful,

[1] Fol. 70 v.

while he easily loses confidence in her, and does nothing to rid her of Tyrene and little to escape from Rodope. The latter is the most interesting character of the play. So completely is she carried away by love, jealousy, and remorse that she is easily deceived and quickly decides on deeds of cruelty. Yet she is naturally kind, able to judge correctly and to sacrifice her own interests to those of others. She resembles Melite in *Clitophon*, whom Du Ryer must have had in mind when he portrayed her. Her character, like that of others in this play, is bettered by the more concentrated study that Du Ryer gives the persons of his maturer pieces.

The dedication to the *Vendanges de Suresne*, addressed to the Duke of Vendôme, speaks of the play as the younger brother of *Alcimedon*, "qui receut il ny a pas long temps un si glorieux accueil de votre grandeur." The privilege to print is dated April 26, 1635; the *achevé d'imprimer*, November 16 of the same year. The mention of this play in Mahelot's first list and the fact that it followed *Alcimedon* make it probable that it was first played in 1633. The fact that Dancourt in 1695 used the title[1] for a comedy of his own shows that at that time, though the name had survived among writers, Du Ryer's play had ceased to be known to the public. The work was republished by Fournier in his *Théâtre français au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle.*[2]

The play resembles *Amarillis*. The outdoor setting, the supposedly rustic characters who have the refinement of the upper classes, the lovers crossed by tricky rivals and self-seeking parents, the use of notes, disguise, concealment, the heroine's *enlèvement* and the hero's rescue of her, the double marriage at the end, all suggest the pastoral type. In the treatment of the characters, the plot, and the use of names there is a close likeness to *Amarillis*. Dorimene, Polidor, Guillaume, the lovers and the servant of the *Vendanges*, are not unlike Dieromene, heroine in the *Pentimento*, source of *Amarillis*, Phillidor and Guillaume, hero and servant in *Amarillis*. When the *Vendanges* was written, Du Ryer probably had his own and other pastorals in mind, but, instead of following them closely, he eliminated to a great extent the tragic developments found in them, and sought especially to describe contemporary manners and create comic situations, thus justifying his classification of the play as a comedy.

[1] There is no other similarity between the two plays. [2] II, 68–142.

As the title indicates, the stage represents Suresne at the time of grape-gathering. Mahelot's requirements[1] for the *mise en scène* are noteworthy:

"Au Milieu du theatre, il faut faire paraître le bourg de Surêne, et au bas faire paraître la riuiere de Seine, et aux deux costés du theatre, faire paraître forme de paysage, Loingtain, garny de Vigne, raisins, arbres, noyers, peschers, et autre Verdure, plus faire paraître le tertre au dessus de Surêne et lhermitage; Mais au deux costés du theatre, il faut plante des vignes, facon de bourgogne, peinte Sur du carton taillée a jour; il faut Vne hote de vandangeur pleine de raisins et fueilles de vigne; il faut deux paniers, deux eschalas, Vne serpette, et trois lettres; en la Saison du raisin, il en faut auoir cinq ou six grappes pour la feinte."

We are no longer in an imaginary country of extraordinary customs; we are near Paris, in surroundings familiar to the author and his audience. It is refreshing to hear the heroine refer to the Seine instead of the Lignon or the Styx. There is talk of Auteuil and Longchamp and of literary and social customs of the day, though the leading persons remain those of the pastoral.

Polidor and Dorimene see their love hindered by the tricks of Tirsis and Florice, their respective rivals. By means of his wealth Tirsis brings Dorimene's father, Crisere, to look with favor on his suit and seeks to make Polidor believe that Dorimene does not love him. Polidor soon learns the contrary from his lady's lips, but he also hears that Crisere has discovered their love through Florice and has forbidden his daughter to have any further communication with him. He writes verses, however, to Dorimene, addressed to an imaginary Philis, and by this subterfuge succeeds not only in keeping his sweetheart's affection, but in proving the treachery of Tirsis, who seeks to make Dorimene give up Polidor by reporting to her that he is in love with Philis At last Crisere is won over by the timely death of a rich uncle, who leaves his fortune to Polidor, while Tirsis retires after a duel with his rival. Then the news comes that Dorimene has been carried off by a young noble, who takes the place of the pastoral satyr. Polidor and Tirsis quickly rescue her, and the latter, having thus atoned for his past treachery, is married to Florice, while Polidor weds the heroine.

This slight plot, which lacks all unity except a central interest in the chief lovers, forms the background for an interesting study

[1] Fol. 61 v°.

of manners. Except for numerous references to the vintage and certain expressions of antipathy between bourgeois and nobles, the customs described are those of upper Parisian society. There are references[1] to the "polis de ce temps," the reading of novels, the "diuine Artenice,"[2] to methods for securing a husband, to contemporary dances and articles of dress, to the making of bad poetry and the criticism of good. I cite the following lines, which tell how to reach women's hearts:

"Il faut estre d'accord de tous leurs sentimens,
Approuuer et loüer leurs moindres ornemens,
Respecter vn collet, pour luy prendre querelle,
Auoir tousiours en poche une chanson nouuelle.
Sçauoir bien à propos ajuster vn mimy,
Distinguer promptement le galand de l'amy,
Dire quelle couleur est et fut à la mode,
Voila pour estre aymé le chemin plus commode.
Vn homme de neant, bien poly, bien frisé,
Par ces rares moyens se void fauorisè,
Pourueu qu'il sçache vn mot des liures de l'Astrée
C'est le plus grand esprit de toute vne contrée."[3]

In another place Du Ryer vents his spleen on dramatic critics by making one of his characters tell how he was caught between a number of these "beaux espris" at the representation of an excellent play:

"Toutesfois ces rimeurs, moins doctes qu'enuieux,
N'y pouuoient rien trouuer qui ne fust ennuyeux.
L'vn faisoit de l'habile (et pour moy ie m'en moque),
L'autre disoit tout haut cette rime me choque,
Ce mot n'est pas François, et m'estonne comment
On luy vient de donner tant d'applaudissement."[4]

The satirical spirit of these passages, which is not without suggestions of Molière, is particularly exemplified by Lisete, a halved Dorine, who has to a lesser degree the brightness, the power of observation, the boldness of Molière's inimitable *suivante*, without her sympathy and decent good sense. Her advice to Florice about the number of her lovers is worth quoting:

"Lisete, me dit-elle, en ce temps où nous sommes
Pour te faire estimer, n'estime point les hommes;
Si tu veux toutesfois approuuer leur amour,
Ayme deux, trois amans, et faits-en chaque iour;

[1] Cf. I, 2, 4, 6; II, 3; III, 2. [2] Mme de Rambouillet. [3] I, 1. [4] III, 2.

N'aye point d'autres soings que pour cét exercice,
Pour y mieux reussir emprunte l'artifice,
On ne peut trop auoir de ces biens inconstans
Dont la perte se fait tousiours en peu de temps."[1]

The comic elements of the play are not confined to a satirical study of manners. There are at least four characters whose chief purpose is to amuse the audience. Of these Lisete, the *suivante*, has just been referred to. A match for her is found in Guillaume, servant to Polidor, closely akin to his namesakes in *Amarillis* and *Lisandre et Caliste*, though more highly developed than either of these. His name, his enormous size, and the character of his wit indicate that this part was played by the celebrated Gros Guillaume. He jokes about his appetite for drink and food, his personal appearance, his love of money, and the inferiority of women. The other comic characters are Crisere and Doripe, father and mother of the heroine, the first seeking a wealthy, the second a noble, son-in-law. Their specious arguments, the insults each bestows upon the other's sex, and the resulting quarrels do much to enliven the play.

Occasionally a vulgar wit is displayed by the actors, more frequently it is the dry and limited humor of the practical man, of Guillaume when he says, "je respecte ceux dont je mange le pain," or of Crisere in, "s'il sçait garder son or, il sçait beaucoup de chose."[2] A number of proverbial expressions occur,[3] such as, "l'or en bourse vaut mieux que le fer au costé," "plus on a de mets, plus on fait bonne chere," "ce sexe—n'est bon qu'en vn lit et dans vn monument," "le bien present vaut mieux que celuy qu'on espere," "vn vaisseau plein de vent fait plus de bruit qu'vn autre." There are also mistakes and surprises, among which should be noted Tirsis's carrying his rival's love-letter for him[4] after the fashion of Sganarelle in the *Ecole des Maris*. Finally, the incidents that might make the plot tragic are so quickly passed over that the tone of the play remains almost everywhere worthy of comedy.

It is clear, then, that the play is correctly classified. It is evident that its value lies in the comic elements that mark its type rather than in the plot, which contains situations without cause or result and the *dénouement* produced by a *deus ex machinâ*, or in the leading persons, who have the inadequate characterization of pastoral plays. In its comic persons and situations, the

[1] II, 4. [2] II, 1 and 5. [3] II, 5, 4, 5; IV, 2, 6. [4] III, 2.

Vendanges still has power to interest us. It is, moreover, an important play in the development of French comedy, for Du Ryer was one of the first to see the value for comedy of a study of actual conditions in their true setting. There is, too, a conflict of classes in Crisere's putting wealth above birth, in Doripe's ridiculous championing of aristocracy, in the defeat of the noble who tries to carry off the heroine. We wonder at a dramatist who depicts as early as 1633 class pride in the *bourgeoisie*. We regret that he did not venture further in this effort at writing realistic comedy and at anticipating by a generation the feelings of Madame Jourdain.

I have given the reasons for believing that *Cleomedon* was written at the end of 1633 or the beginning of 1634, was acted at Carnival of the latter year under the name of *Rossyleon*, and was published with its present name in 1636.[1] In his dedication to Vendôme, Du Ryer writes, "Vous le connoissez, puisqu'il est né en vostre maison, et vous l'auez tousiours si fauorablement esleué depuis sa naissance, qu'il ne peut plus passer pour incognu aupres de vostre Grandeur." Georges de Scudéry testifies to its popularity[2] by putting it among the plays which he would fain prove superior to the *Cid*, naming "les Sophonisbes, les Cesars, les Cleopatres, les Hercules, les Marianes, les Cleomedons, et tant d'autres illustres Heros qui les [les honnêtes gens] ont charmés sur le théatre." Despite this praise, I can not rank it high among its author's plays, for, though it has effective situations and characters of some individuality, there is much of the melodrama about it, due perhaps to the looseness of its structure.

The plot is taken from the tenth book of the fourth part of *l'Astrée*. The young lovers' names have been changed: Rosileon to Cleomedon, Rosanire to Celanire, Celiodante to Celiante, Cephise to Belise. The fact that these changes do not affect the rime,[3] taken in connection with the play's being first called *Rossyleon*, suggests the probability that the names found in the Astrée were used in the play when it was first acted.

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[1] Cf. above, pp. 62, 63. The *achevé d'imprimer* has the date Feb. 21, 1636; the permission, that of Dec. 31 of the same year, evidently intended for Dec. 31, 1635, as is further shown by the statement that it was printed in the twenty-sixth year of Louis XIII's reign.

[2] At the beginning of his *Observations sur le Cid*.

[3] The only exception is in the name of the unimportant Verance, changed to Clorimante. Cleomedon occurs in rime once, Belise four times, Celiante six times, Celanire fourteen times.

Du Ryer follows pretty closely the events related by the queen's knight in *l'Astrée*. As in *Lisandre et Caliste*, he begins his drama in the middle of the story. He makes his exposition largely by Queen Argire's conversation in the opening scene. Over twenty years before, she had been seduced, under promise of marriage, by King Policandre, then visiting her father's court. Called home suddenly, he had married another princess, while she, after secretly bringing forth a son, Celiante, had married the King of the Santons and become the mother of a second son. As she preferred her first-born, she succeeded after a few years in substituting him for the other, leaving this younger son to be brought up away from court. He was lost during a civil war, while his older brother continued to be regarded as the son of the King of the Santons. After the death of this monarch, the widowed queen sought the hand of Policandre and was refused. Smarting under this new insult, she waged war against her former lover and placed her son at the head of her army, so that the young prince was unwittingly fighting against his father. The progress of the war has reduced Policandre to a single city, where he awaits help from Cleomedon, a former slave, who won his freedom by saving Policandre from a lion and has since distinguished himself in battle.

The scene, first laid in Argire's tent outside the city, shifts to Policandre's court, where he is encouraging his daughters when Argire's confidant, captured in a sortie, staggers in to inform the king of Celiante's identity, but dies before he can disclose the secret. We now learn of Cleomedon's arrival and the strength he has given the besieged. Between the first and second acts he puts the enemy to flight and captures Celiante, thus giving rise to the chief struggle of the play, for both victor and captive love Celanire, daughter of Policandre, while her sister, Belise, falls in love with Celiante. Celanire, who loves the presumably low-born Cleomedon, encourages him to believe that "qui conserue vn Sceptre est digne de l'auoir" and that "qui vante ses ayeux ne vante rien de soy." Thus assured of her love, he replies, "Que ne dompterois-ie animé de la sorte?", giving just the thought and some of the words used by Rodrigue[1] under similar circumstances:

> "Est-il quelque ennemi qu' à présent je ne dompte? . . .
> Pour combattre une main de la sorte animée."

[1] *Cid*, V, 1.

Now the king has promised Celanire to Cleomedon as a reward of victory, but the state of the heavily taxed country requires immediate peace, which can be firmly established by the marriage of this elder daughter to Celiante. This consideration and the persuasions of jealous courtiers make the king decide to marry Celanire to Celiante, compensating Cleomedon for the loss of his promised bride by the gift of Belise's hand. The arrangement is vainly opposed by both Cleomedon and Belise. When the former reminds the king of his promise, he is rebuked with the words "Esclaue, souuiens-toy que ie t'ay rachepté." The two princesses are in despair. Cleomedon goes mad, repeats to himself the phrase spoken to him by the king, thinks he is beset by giants, rages against the king and his flatterers, and is calmed only by the mention of Celanire's name.[1]

The fourth act is devoted chiefly to these ravings and a report that Argire has died on her way to her son's marriage. In the fifth, an old man, Clorimante, succeeds in obtaining a private audience with Policandre, after enduring the courtiers' jests. Celanire is meditating suicide and Belise is trying to prevent Cleomedon from slaying Celiante, when Argire, escaped from shipwreck, comes to inform them that Celiante is the son of Policandre. The king is delighted to find his son, and Celanire is still more pleased to learn that she can not marry Celiante, while the latter accepts the situation with such equanimity that we doubt whether he has been seriously in love.[2]

The identity of Cleomedon, who has regained his sanity, remains to be established. Argire recognizes Clorimante as the man to whom she confided her second son and learns from him that the child was taken prisoner during the war, while he was himself sold as a slave at Tunis, whence he has just returned, after twenty years. Policandre remembers that Quinicsoit, the name given by Argire to her son when she was hiding him, was the name by which Cleomedon was originally called. Finally a laurel-shaped birth-mark on the hero's hand makes it certain that he is the lost son of Argire and the King of the Santons. The *dénouement* is dramatically delayed by Cleomedon, who, brought in for examination, expects to receive a new insult and threatens

[1] For contemporary examples of mental derangement through disappointed love, cf. Pichou's *Folies de Cardenio*, Corneille's *Mélite*, Mairet's *Sylvie*.

[2] For a truer treatment of a similar situation, cf. Du Ryer's *Berenice*.

to destroy the kingdom he has established. Argire has the "secret mouuement," common to romantic mothers when they first see a grown son, lost to them in infancy. Cleomedon is told that he is the queen's son and is married to Celanire. Belise is given, according to her desires, to Celiante, as she fortunately turns out to be the step-daughter, not the daughter of the king. That all past errors may be righted, a third marriage is arranged between the former lovers, Argire and Policandre.

This plot, as I have stated, follows closely the incidents found in its source. There are certain changes in the treatment of Policandre and Belise that will be noted below. There are changes in arrangement to meet the requirements of the stage and to make the play end satisfactorily with the hero's recovery from madness. The narrative is shortened and the events are thrown into stronger relief. Incidents are omitted, especially those connected with the hero's youth and courtship and the beginning of hostilities between Argire and Policandre. Du Ryer leaves out the marvellous, changing the statement of an oracle mentioned in the *Astrée* to a falsehood used by the queen to deceive her husband. He adds comic and dramatic situations, makes a fanciful change in the hero's birth-mark, which now resembles a laurel instead of a rose. He is less definite in the location of his play, for he retains only the Santons and adds Tunis, while he omits the names of Argire's nation, the Picts, and of Policandre's town, Avaric, and people, the Boyens and Ambarres.

On the other hand, all the main events are retained and the characters remain substantially the same. There is even close verbal imitation in at least two cases. The heroine in the *Astrée* says, "I'ayme mieux qu'on raconte à l'aduenir que Rosanire a trop obey, que si l'on pouuoit dire qu'elle eust manqué à son deuoir;"[1] in *Cleomedon*,

> "Et i'ayme mieux enfin que ce cœur soit blasmé
> D'auoir trop obey, que d'auoir trop aymé."[2]

Similarly the words that have been quoted as addressed by Policandre to Cleomedon when he refused to give him his daughter are found in the *Astrée*[3] as, "Souuiens-toy du prix duquel ie t'ay achepté esclaue."

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[1] X, 850, 851. [2] III, 3. [3] X, 1030, 1031.

The closeness of the imitation results in decided lack of unity in the play. The first act serves to explain the war and to introduce the characters. The audience is led to believe that Argire and Policandre are the chief persons and is consequently surprised not to see the queen again till the last act, where she plays the role of the *deus ex machinâ*. The triple plot confuses the action, which is not simplified by the author's addition of scenes intended purely to touch or amuse the audience. The *dénouement*, brought about by the timely arrival of Argire after a shipwreck and the return of the nurse after twenty years' imprisonment, shows how little care the author takes to make the result proceed from the main events of the play. The time of the action must cover several months; the place is in and outside the walls of Policandre's city, covering about the same amount of space as that used in *Aretaphile*.

The incidents of the play are thoroughly romantic. The plot is based on a substitution of children, with the loss of one of them and his subsequent recognition by the mother's "secret mouuement," the birth-mark, and the opportune return of the lost nurse. A confidant dies as he is about to reveal the secret; the hero goes mad; one princess loves a captive, another a slave who turns out to be a prince; a son fights against his father and his brother, a second against his brother and his mother.

Argire is a Cornelian queen, who makes war for the sake of her "gloire." Madness adds variety to the personality of Cleomedon, otherwise a typical hero. The king is a politician, who deserts Argire and breaks his promise to Cleomedon, allows himself to be influenced by courtiers, is easily moved to anger and insolence, but who is a kindly father and thoughtful ruler. His action in breaking with Argire is not explained, as in the *Astrée*, but here he proposes marriage to her without waiting for a courtier's advice. Du Ryer wisely refrains from making Belise fall in love with Cleomedon. Had he followed his source in this, he would have confused the audience. Instead, she has fallen in love with Celiante early in the play, so that her marriage to him is of greater interest than had it been purely the matter of compensation that it is in the *Astrée*. We are interested in the picture of contemporary manners given by the courtiers, who flatter the king, conspire against the hero, and bait Clorimante till they see that the king protects him.

Du Ryer enlivens his play by the use of comic scenes, interrupted dialogue, and rapid narration. For example, Clorimante tells Argire of Cleomedon's disappearance as follows:

"C: Ha! Madame,
A: Dy viste, est-il vif? est-il mort?
C: Il est.
A: Acheue.
C: Il est ce qu'a voulu le Sort.
A: Celiante n'est plus.
C: Ie n'en sçaurois rien dire."[1]

Argire describes the beginning of her love for Policandre in these words:

"Et comme vn ieune cœur est bien-tost enflammé
Il me vid, il m'ayma, ie le vis, ie l'aimay."[2]

Before producing his next tragi-comedy, Du Ryer had learned from the *Cid* the beauty of a struggle between two noble desires and had written two tragedies that are thoroughly classic in structure. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that in *Clarigene* he deepens his study of character, makes use of the psychological struggle, and simplifies his plot. This play was published in 1639,[3] and was probably composed and acted a year or two earlier. It is dedicated to the Duke of Mercœur, Vendôme's oldest son. It does not appear in Mahelot, but, according to the author's statement in his dedication, it was given "sur les Theatres auec assez d'applaudissemens, et n'a pas diminué l'estime qu'vn peu de bonne fortune m'a acquise."

The complete source has not been discovered. The prominent motif of the fourth act, a contest in generosity shown by two innocent men, each of whom insists that he is guilty in order to save the other from punishment for a crime which neither has committed, finds a parallel in Hardy's tragi-comedy, *Gesippe*, in its source, the *Decameron*, x, 8, in Chevreau's play on the same subject, in *Athis et Porphirias*, and the *Gesta Romanorum*.[4] Philipp[5] declares the play to be the author's invention under Boccaccio's influence, but the circumstances here differ in many

[1] V, 6.
[2] I, 1. The rapidity of the narrative is noted by Ménage. See Menagiana, Paris, 1715, IV, 124.
[3] Privilege, February 8; *achevé d'imprimer*, May 23.
[4] See *Le Voilier des Histoires romaines*, Brunet's edition, 1858, pp. 392, 393; cf. Rigal, *Alexandre Hardy*, 458, for other references.
[5] *Pierre Du Ryers Leben*, 46.

respects from those treated by Boccaccio and Hardy; the struggle is not only found in the minds of two generous friends, but also occurs more poignantly in the soul of the woman who is sister of one and in love with the other. Similar contests are not unusual in earlier romances and dramas.[1] Even if we admit that this episode comes from Hardy or Boccaccio, the source of the greater part of Du Ryer's play remains to be found. Therefore it is still uncertain whether Du Ryer derived a part of his play directly from the works mentioned, or whether he merely had suggestions from them, just as he may have been influenced in other parts of this play by episodes found in similar authors. An abducted woman's falling in love with her ravisher, the separation of lovers by storm and shipwreck, battles with pirates, rescue by fishermen, are common motifs in Greek romances and the work of their imitators. There is little, then, that is new in the individual incidents, but no one has yet discovered an earlier work in which these events are synthesized, nor has it been proved from what particular source any one episode is derived.

The scene is laid in several places at Athens. The time is shortly after the capture of Rome by the Gauls. The exposition, made by Licidas to a friend whom he has not seen for two years, tells us that the speaker, formerly a prominent figure at court, has retired from it and suffered the loss of his two children—the daughter, Cephise, carried off by a man of whom he knows nothing except that he is named Clarigene, and the son, Cleante, lost in pursuit of the ravisher. The friend is trying to comfort him when they are joined by Celie, a young *Romaine*, shipwrecked on the coast of Attica the day before and hospitably sheltered by Licidas. She is now sufficiently recovered from the disaster to tell her host how she fled from Rome with her brother and lover for fear of the Gauls; how, trying to make the Lipari Islands, they were driven by storms for nine months till they reached Attica, where her companions have apparently perished. She adds that her brother is named Telariste and her lover, Clarigene. Lisandre, astonished to hear the name of his daughter's ravisher, at once hastens off to see if the latter be really dead.

Before he returns, Telariste and Clarigene come seeking Celie, for they have escaped the waves by the aid of a fisherman. They

[1] Cf. Reynier, *le Roman sentimental avant l'Astrée*, 78, 85, where he treats especially *Le Jugement d'Amour* of Juan de Flores, translated into French in 1530.

look for her in different directions and Clarigene soon finds her, but only to be told to fly for his life. Since he refuses to leave her, she introduces him to Licidas as her brother and declares that Clarigene is dead, whereupon her host informs her that Clarigene has been arrested for abducting his daughter. When alone with Celie, Clarigene protests against this accusation, is assured of her faith in him, and again urged to fly while there is time. Instead of doing so, he goes to the trial of Telariste, who has been arrested in his stead, and tells the senate who he is. This first part of the trial takes place off the stage, but word of it is brought to Celie, who is summoned to tell which of the two is Clarigene. Before she goes, we see in her the conflict of noble emotions, which she calls

> "Grande et nouuelle guerre, où dans vn mesme cœur,
> Vne amante aujourd'huy combat contre vne sœur."

This struggle is emphasized in the fourth act, when Celie appears before the senate. Telariste insists that he is Clarigene, while Clarigene not only maintains his own identity, but urges Telariste to remember his duty to his sister. The judge, Dicee, unable to decide between them, appeals to Celie, who, torn between love of her brother and her lover, tells the truth and points out Clarigene. Immediately, however, Telariste reproaches her for lying and begs the judges not to believe her. Clarigene argues against Telariste, but the situation is more confused than ever, so that Dicee has the trio led away until some means can be found of determining their identity. The problem is solved by the arrival of Licidas's lost son, Cleante, who declares that he overtook the ravisher, but found that he wished to marry his sister and that she had fallen in love with him. Pirates, storms, the war between the Gauls and the Romans, have delayed them. Their letters to Licidas have never reached him. They arrived only the evening before and he has come to secure his father's consent to the marriage of his sister and her abductor. But Licidas refuses to forgive Clarigene and is delighted to be able to identify him.

Du Ryer next brings together the supposed rivals, Cephise and Celie, each of whom admits her love for Clarigene and tries to explain how he could have courted the other without her knowledge. When Celie sees that Clarigene has compromised Cephise, although, according to the latter's statement, he has not seduced her, she gives up her lover and even urges her rival to forgive his

inconstancy. They seem sure that there is only one Clarigene involved, though a more careful consideration of their own testimony would have convinced them of the contrary.

Licidas interrupts their conversation by bidding his daughter state which of the prisoners is Clarigene. She declares that Telariste, brought in first, is not he. Celie and her brother now fear for Clarigene. When he enters, the former bids him not to consider her, but to marry Cephise, if he loves her. But Cephise declares that this man, too, is not Clarigene. Licidas wonders if she is pretending, in order to save her lover, and consents to her marriage in order to get the truth from her, but she sticks to her declaration, so that the mystification continues till Cleante brings the explanation that there are two men called Clarigene and that the second, who abducted his sister, has now come to give himself up to Licidas. The latter asks pardon of Celie and her lover for his mistake and would atone for the trouble he has caused them. They beg him to forgive the second Clarigene and to this the father consents. Moved by their example of forgiveness, he further allows his daughter to marry her abductor. A last touch of happiness is added by the news that Rome has been restored after the departure of the Gauls.

The fact that the plot depends on a mistake in identity puts the play in constant danger of coming to a close through the discovery of the facts, while the *dénouement* results, not from previous incidents in the play, but from the simple reappearance of the second Clarigene. If we overlook, however, this fundamental weakness, which could be more readily pardoned in a play of larger comic purpose, we shall find much that is excellent in the work. Du Ryer has made progress in extracting from a subject almost all possible dramatic situations. He gives interest to the exposition by putting it in the mouth of a man whose emotion must be visible while he describes the loss of his children. By a clever arrangement of entrances, he gives us the touching scenes of recognition and self-sacrificing love between Celie and Clarigene.[1] The scene in the fourth act, in which Telariste and Clarigene each seeks to sacrifice himself, while Celie shows the intense conflict in her soul between two noble desires, illustrates the progress the stage has made since Hardy, for in his play, *Gesippe*, he showed merely the generous conflict between two men, while Du Ryer adds an inter-

[1] II, 5, and III, 1.

nal struggle of Cornelian character. The scenes between Celie and Cephise would have been omitted, had the author not carefully studied the possibilities of his subject. By increasing the interest at the end of the acts he binds them together in a way that partially atones for the weakness of the *dénouement*. By the successive introductions of Telariste and Clarigene, he cleverly holds back his explanation till the last scene of the play.

Celie, the chief figure, is of ancient Roman stock, as she tells Licidas. She is quick-witted, capable of analyzing her own feelings, not too absorbed by her grief to sympathize with Licidas in his. She frankly confesses her love, for

> "Quand l'honneur fait l'amour, dont vn cœur est bruslé,
> Nous ne deuons rougir que de l' auoir celé.
> Ainsi je ne feins pas."[1]

But she is less naïve than she thinks, for she deceives Licidas to save her lover, although she subsequently names the latter to the judge. Her love for Clarigene is not, indeed, an uncontrolled passion, for, while she believes him dead, she is not too much overwhelmed to explain her situation to her host, and when she first sees him after the shipwreck, she conquers her emotion sufficiently to send the page away and to remember that her lover's safety lies in separation from her. On the witness stand she tells the truth, though it may mean her lover's death. Finally, her most difficult task is performed when she not only forgives her lover his supposed infidelity, but urges the woman he is thought to have compromised to forgive and marry him. She is, indeed, an heroic figure, but she does not boast of her heroism to the audience. She is simple, devoted, self-sacrificing, strong, the most charming of Du Ryer's heroines.

The second person in the play is the father, Licidas. He has experienced the emptiness of court favor and has chosen to give up everything to the love of his children. When he loses them, his keen sorrow is borne with fortitude, if not with cheerfulness. When he thinks he has discovered the abductor, he is impatient of everything that delays his vengeance. In the end, it is true, he forgives Clarigene and allows the marriage, but Du Ryer deserves credit for seeing, as so few authors have done until recent years, that a father can not look with pleasure upon a marriage between his daughter and her ravisher.

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[1] II, 1.

Celie's lover and brother are types of self-sacrificing devotion. Cephise, who has inherited her father's pride, brings out by contrast Celie's purer love. These persons are made dramatic by the struggles through which they pass. The ravisher and Cleante are unimportant, appearing only in time to bring about the *dénouement.*

Some local color is created by a free, though not detailed use of geographical names and an occasional reference to historical events. Athens,[1] Rome, Mitilene, Ostia, the Lipari Islands, Sicily, are named, and the capture of Rome is described. The stage represents Licidas's house, a space before it, and the Senate House. The court room in the latter building appears to be concealed during the first scene of the fourth act, for the trial is going on there while Licidas is conversing outside. He remarks:

"On ouure et le Senat est encore assemblé,"

whereupon the second scene begins with the judge in the midst of his examination. The unity of time is perfectly preserved. The play is too somber to admit much that is comic beyond the fact that it is based on a mistake in identity. This mistake produces a laugh when Licidas congratulates Clarigene, whom he believes to be Telariste, for having escaped from Clarigene, and the latter replies:

"Pardonnez, donc, Monsieur, au trouble ou ie me voy,
Quand ie parle pour luy ie croy parler pour moy."[2]

This is almost the last comic passage in his theater, for Du Ryer now gives himself up to tragedy or the form of tragi-comedy that resembles it in unity of tone. *Clarigene* may, therefore, be classed with *Lucrece* in the preparation they make for the elimination of the comic, as well as for the subordination of the plot to moral struggles and examples of self-sacrificing love and devotion.

[1] Du Ryer seems to think that Athens is on the sea-shore; cf. I, 2. [2] II, 6.

CHAPTER IV.

TRAGEDIES.

Du Ryer's six tragedies form the most important part of his work. By them he gained most of his dramatic reputation and helped establish the formula for classic French tragedy. *Lucrece* showed before *Horace* that Roman history could furnish themes suitable to such plays. *Saül* and *Esther* introduced the religious subject to classic authors. Years before Racine's *Berenice*, *Alcionée* demonstrated that five acts could be sustained without external events, purely by the representation of mental states. *Sceuole*, commonly held to be the author's *chef d'œuvre*, was one of the few plays written in the first half of the seventeenth century that were acted in the eighteenth. *Themistocle*, published more often than most of Du Ryer's plays, has some interest as an example of the political tragedy in the Cornelian manner.

Lucrece, probably first acted in 1636, was published in 1638[1] and dedicated to "Mademoiselle de Vendosme," while Du Ryer was still secretary to her father. It probably met with some success, as it is mentioned with approbation in d'Aubignac's *Pratique du theatre.*[2] It is based directly on Livy's narrative[3] without influence from the plays on the same subject by Filleul[4] and Chevreau.[5] The scene is laid at the "chasteau de Collatie," whither Tarquin, Collatin, and Brute have come to visit Lucrece. Although the heroine does not appear till the middle of the second act, she is so much discussed in the first that there can be no doubt of the predominant place she holds in the tragedy.

The play begins with Tarquin's ridiculing Collatin's love of Lucrece and Collatin's defending his devotion and boasting of her virtue. He sends his guests into the house to surprise his wife in the performance of her domestic duties, and is reproved by

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[1] Privilege, May 21; *achevé d'imprimer*, July 20.
[2] Paris, 1657, II, 89. [3] I, 57–59. [4] Rouen, 1566.
[5] Paris, 1637. Hardy's play of the same name has an entirely different subject.

Brute for thus exposing Lucrece to Tarquin's passion, as well as for coming away from the army with him. Collatin replies that they left the army at dawn, only two hours before, and have come hither in order to settle a dispute of the previous evening over Lucrece's virtue, but Brute still disapproves, for

> "Son desir eschauffé ne respecte personne,
> Il croid que la licen[c]e est vn droit de Couronne,
> Que c'est vn trait d'esprit de tromper ses amis,
> Et que quand l'on peut tout, tout est aussi permis.
> Tu l'as veu, tu le sçais, et te trahis toy mesme!
> Tu monstres au lyon la pasture qu'il ayme!"

The dialogue that follows, in which Collatin continues to trust and Brute to doubt, shows that the former, like the hero of a Greek tragedy, sins through pride and want of measure, and that the terrible calamity which is to befall him is due in part to his own error.

Between the first and second acts the interview between Lucrece and her husband's friend takes place. Tarquin's feeling changes from a desire to win his wager and prove the inconstancy of women to a passionate longing for the possession of Lucrece. In a scene with Brute he confesses this desire and asks his aid in fulfilling it, but Brute, instead of aiding him, reminds him of his royal duty and then warns him of the fatal consequences that may attend his act. Tarquin pretends to be convinced and agrees to return to the camp, but in a monologue he tells us his intention to seduce Lucrece. He is influenced not only by his love of the woman, but by his hatred of Brute for showing him his duty. Accordingly he tells his plans to his slave, Libane, then admits to Collatin that he has lost his wager, bids farewell to Lucrece, and leaves with her husband and Brute. The heroine here appears for the first time, speeding her guests with friendly words.

The third act concerns the attempted seduction. Libane, acting under his master's orders, returns to the house and makes skilful insinuations against Collatin, first to the maids, then to Lucrece. He declares with apparent reluctance that Collatin has a mistress, whose attractions he openly puts above his wife's, that Tarquin has rebuked him for his conduct, and that it was to prove to that prince the superiority of the mistress that Collatin brought him to see Lucrece. Libane explains further that he has lost his way in the darkness, for it is now night, and has been

obliged to return to the house. Lucrece is lamenting her husband's inconstancy when Tarquin enters. He calls virtue a "vieille chimere," reminds her of Diana's love affair, flatters her, begs her to pity him, calls Collatin unfaithful. Seeing that his eloquence does not avail, he changes his tactics and pretends that he has been playing a part in order to convince her skeptical husband of her fidelity. He adds that Collatin is returning home and advises Lucrece to send men to meet him. Having thus got rid of her male attendants, he confides to Libane his intention to use force.

Her interview with Tarquin has convinced Lucrece that her husband is innocent, especially as her attendant, Liuie, has almost succeeded in obtaining a confession from Libane. The maids argue whether she ought to speak of the incident to her husband, till they are sent away by their mistress, who wishes to think the matter over alone. Tarquin then enters with his slave and again makes love to her. Seeing that she still refuses, he draws his dagger, but is unable to terrify her into compliance. As in Livy, he warns her that if she kills herself, he will kill his slave and swear that he has taken them in adultery. Lucrece immediately hastens from the room in order to find witnesses of her innocence. Tarquin pursues her, leaving the stage to the maids, who are brought in by the noise they have heard. After a conversation between these women, Lucrece returns in despair, begging Tarquin to kill her, now that he has dishonored her, but the ravisher has fled, leaving her to thoughts of vengeance.

The last act gives briefly the conclusion of the story. Collatin, Brute, and Lucrece's father arrive, summoned by her letters. There is an interview between the men, then the last scene of the play, in which the heroine, at too great length, but not without pathos, tells of her sad state, makes them swear to avenge her, and then kills herself. The three men swear. Collatin is overwhelmed with grief, while Brute points out a means of vengeance by expelling the tyrants from Rome.

Du Ryer thus expands Livy's account and adapts it to the requirements of the stage without greatly altering his source. He preserves the unity of place by laying the scene entirely in Collatin's home,[1] the unity of time by beginning the action two

[1] At least two rooms are used, for from V, 1, to V, 2 the actors go from one apartment into another.

hours after dawn and ending it early next morning, whereas in Livy several days elapse between Tarquin's visits. He sustains the interest without subordinate plot and connects all the episodes with the character of Lucrece and the theme of her violation and death, considered in their personal significance with scarcely any reference to their political importance. He introduces Brute early in order to characterize Collatin and Tarquin, wisely omits Valerius, whose presence at the death-bed would have added nothing to the interest, and utilizes Livy's mention of Tarquin's slave and Lucrece's maids for the creation of subordinate characters.

There is local color in references to the gods, to the rule of the Tarquins, to Rome, the Senate, the siege of Ardea, in mention of Mars, Diana, Bacchus, Paris, Ulysses, Troy.[1] Anachronisms are found in remarks on the "Empire Romain," "encre et papier," the heroine's avoidance of "bal et theatre."[2] As the death of Lucrece is a suicide, no classicist would object to its taking place on the stage. The *bienséances* are well preserved, even in the difficult matter of the rape. The simplicity and elevation of Du Ryer's treatment are emphasized by comparison with Chevreau's play on the same subject, for the latter author introduces Tarquin and Tullie, lays the scene in several places, has Collatin charged with treachery to the king instead of unfaithfulness to Lucrece, pads his work with accounts of the battle, Sextus's exile, his father's expulsion, and has the rape committed almost before the eyes of the audience. Du Ryer's play resembles it only in the subject and in the fact that Sextus has an attendant who seeks to help him seduce Lucrece.

The tragedy is distinguished from the author's earlier works by a more careful delineation of character, the natural accompaniment of simplicity in plot. He throws his characters into high relief by constantly bringing them into opposition with one another, so that the only persons who remain vague are the heroine's father, who does not enter till the last act, and a certain Procule, an unimportant messenger.

Lucrece and Tarquin are the most sharply contrasted as well as the leading figures. The former is represented as a beautiful, industrious, faithful wife, a gracious hostess, a woman of sweetness and dignity. She is easily deceived, accepting as true the

[1] Cf. I, 2; II, 2; III, 5; IV, 2. [2] II, 2; III, 5; I, 2.

slanderous statements about her husband, but she has no blame for him, only sorrow at his fickleness and reproach for herself that she has not been able to hold his affection. She is more sorely tried than Livy's Lucretia, who does not appear to have believed her husband guilty. She is also more heroic than her prototype, for, despite the fame the Roman heroine has acquired, she evidently preferred her reputation to her virtue. "Quo terrore cum vicisset obstinatam pudicitiam," writes Livy. The fear of having it said that she was taken in adultery with a slave forced her to yield to Tarquin, and, although she atoned nobly for her weakness, the fact remains that she consented to the deed. The French Lucrece, on the other hand, never wavers in her fidelity and is overcome by physical violence only.

But the character would be more dramatic if it were less heroic. As Lucrece does not waver, there is no soul struggle at the center of the play. Perhaps to make up for this, Du Ryer gives his heroine other problems. Is her husband unfaithful? Ought she to tell him of Tarquin's attempt? At the end, how can she atone for the loss of her honor and take vengeance on her ravisher? But there is not, as in the case of Chimène and Andromaque, a problem that affects her action throughout the play. The work lacks the psychological subtlety of the best French tragedies.

If Lucrece is fixed in her adherence to virtue, Tarquin is none the less so in his inclination to vice. His character does not change, nor does he falter in his determination to possess Lucrece. At the same time, his desire gains intensity as the play progresses. He is not the brute that Livy draws, but a cynical, subtle, courtly knave, grown more criminal with his modernity. He shows less lust than Livy's villain, greater pride in his own powers. In the first act he is bent only on proving that there is good reason for his skeptical attitude towards women; in the second, his desire is increased by the sight of Lucrece, the knowledge of her virtue, and the admonitions of Brute. He now adds hypocrisy to other vices, feigning gratitude for Brute's advice. In the third act, he makes every effort for the seduction, showing far greater ingenuity than his Roman original. In the fourth, he resorts to force. As he does not reappear in the fifth act, his punishment must be inferred from Brute's swearing that he will

drive the royal family from Rome. D'Aubignac[1] commends Du Ryer for not letting Tarquin die on the stage after outraging Lucrece, giving as his reason that the crime was not great enough to prevent horror in the audience when they saw him thus punished. But there is no evidence to show that Du Ryer entertained such a curious view of popular horror. It is rather his regard for his source that makes him treat the rôle as he does.

The two characters that stand next in importance are Collatin and Brute, the first as impetuous and trusting as the second is calm, penetrating, reserved. Collatin refuses to think evil of Tarquin, boasts inadvisedly of his love, is maddened by his wife's death. As his suffering is due partly to himself, he is an exceedingly tragic figure. Brute is far less human. He is one of the few examples in Du Ryer of the "sage," the character who represents the author and has little personal concern in the action. Virtue and wisdom speak through his mouth, but we are struck by his censoriousness and lack of feeling. He has greater astuteness than that with which Livy credits him, for he practically promises to aid Tarquin to seduce Lucrece in order to extract from him his confession. Truer to the Roman conception of him are his keen insight into motive, the influence he exerts over his friends, his gravity and determined patriotism.

Libane is developed from the slave whose body, according to Livy, Tarquin threatened to leave with Lucretia's. He becomes the go-between who seeks to win Lucrece for his master by slandering Collatin. The few lines he speaks give an impression of devotion to his master and large ability to deceive. With him should be considered Lucrece's two attendants, introduced from Livy's *ancillæ* to show the heroine in her life at home. Liuie, warm-hearted, active, outspoken, suspects Tarquin, questions his slave, advises Lucrece to be frank with her husband, while Cornelie is full of cautious platitudes, anxious to avoid scandal, and opposed to criticism of royalty. The arguments in which the women indulge serve to make them more fully characterized than the usual confidantes.

We find, then, in this first tragedy such familiar classical marks as a well-known subject from Roman history, a strong effort to arouse pity and admiration, closely observed unities and proprieties, subordination of incident to a careful study of contending

[1] *Pratique du theatre*, Paris, 1657, II, 89.

characters. To place the central struggle of the play in one mind is a refinement which the author did not reach till his next tragedy, but already the progress he has made from his earlier writing is evident. The analysis of sentiment and motive has become the main element in the composition of the play. At the same time, the loss of picturesque scenes, often entailed by the preservation of the unity of place, is reduced to a minimum. It was well to omit the confused banquet scene; certainly Du Ryer acted wisely in removing Lucrece from the stage during the fourth act. The affecting scene of the suicide and the important psychological scenes of the attempted seduction are given in detail. The only scene I miss is the first meeting of Tarquin and Lucrece, in which the former's cynical attitude toward his friend's wife is changed to a desire to possess her. As the interview would have interested the audience without violating the unity of place, its omission was to be regretted, even when the theater was under classical regulation.

Seventeenth-century references to *Alcionée* indicate that, next to *Sceuole*, it was Du Ryer's best-known piece. That Richelieu enjoyed it is stated in the dedication to his niece, the duchesse d'Aiguillon, which declares "qu'il a pleu à son Eminence, et qu'apres luy auoir donné des loüanges, elle luy a donné vne place parmy les ornements de son Cabinet . . . Et certes lorsque son Eminence me fit l'honneur de me commander de luy porter cét ouurage, et de vouloir encore que ie luy en fisse la lecture apres l'auoir veu representer tant de fois, ie crus qu'elle autorisoit mon entreprise, et qu'elle me rendoit l'asseurance que la crainte m'auoit ostée." Christina of Sweden is said by Titon du Tillet to have had it read to her three times in one day, "ne pouvant se lasser d'en admirer les beautez."[1] La Rochefoucauld paid his tribute to it by quoting, with reference to his affair with Mme de Longueville, the two lines,

> "Pour obtenir vn bien si grand, si precieux,
> I'ay fait la guerre aux Rois, ie l'eusse faite aux Dieux."[2]

Fournier, none too reliable an authority, declares, without giving the source of his information, that the abbé d'Aubignac knew the

[1] *Le Parnasse françois*, Paris, 1732, p. 249. Perhaps this was the reason why Du Ryer in 1653 dedicated his *Decades de Tite-Liue* to that queen.

[2] III, 5. Voltaire, *Œuvres* (Moland's edition), XIV, 192, 193, and XV, 112, gives the quotation in slightly different form, and adds a note on the duke's parody of it.

play by heart. It is certain that the latter thought well of it, for he writes in his *Pratique du Theatre*,[1] "Les petits sujets entre les mains d'un Poëte ingenieux et qui sçait parler, ne sçauroient mal reüssir. C'est le conseil que donne Scaliger en termes formels, et nous en auons veu l'effet dans l'*Alcionée* de M. du Ryer, Tragédie qui n'a point de fonds, et qui neantmoins a rauy par la force des discours et des sentimens." Still more flattering is Ménage's comment: "C'est une piece admirable et qui ne cede en rien à celles de M. Corneille. Il y a des vers merveilleux, et elle est trés-bien entenduë. Mondory y fesoit bien son personnage."[2] Saint-Evremond, when naming plays by other authors than Corneille which deserve applause, declares, "Nous avons été touchés de Mariane, de Sophonisbe, d'*Alcionée*, de Venceslas, de Stilicon, d'Andromaque, de Britanicus et de plusieurs autres."[3] Finally, Marmontel[4] in 1773 asserts that "il y a de l'intérêt dans l'Alcyonée, et un intérêt assez vif."

The play was first published in 1640.[5] Mahelot's mention[6] shows that it was acted at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. If, as Philipp shrewdly comments,[7] Ménage is right in declaring that Mondory played in it, it must have been acted as early as February, 1637, for about that time this actor retired from the stage.[8] It continued on the boards for over twenty years, as it was acted by Molière's troupe on December 2, 1659, before the unusually large audience attracted by the *Précieuses ridicules*, then being performed for the second time. Whether *Alcionée* was subsequently played or not is unknown. It certainly had further success in book form, for it was republished in 1655, 1705,[9] and

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[1] Paris, 1657, II, 110.

[2] *Menagiana*, Amsterdam, 1693, p. 366.

[3] *Œuvres meslées*, London, 1709, II, 199.

[4] *Chefs d'œuvre dramatiques*, preface to *Scévole*, p. v.

[5] Privilege, April 13; *achevé d'imprimer*, April 26. The *Catalogue de Solemne*, no. 1006, mentions a copy signed by the author and addressed, "pour mon cher amy monsieur Colletet."

[6] *Memoire*, p. 5. The scribe refers to it only in his table of contents.

[7] *Pierre Du Ryers Leben*, 51. Ménage's evidence is not above suspicion, but the only argument against it is the fact that the play was not published till 1640. Strange to say, Philipp considers this strong enough to overthrow Ménage, although there are a number of cases in which three years elapsed between the representation and publication of plays, notably that of Du Ryer's most successful work, *Sceuole*.

[8] Cf. Fournel, *Contemporains de Molière*, Paris, 1875, III, p. xxxviii.

[9] According to Philipp this is the first edition that bears the subtitle *Combat de l'Amour et de l'Honneur*. This title is mentioned by Maupoint, *Bibliothèque*, Paris, 1733, p. 10.

finally in 1737, although Niceron[1] declared in 1733 that it had "tombée [*sic*] entierement dans l'oubli."

The source of this play is hard to find. An earlier romance may have represented such scenes as passing in Lydia; I do not believe that any history did so. At the same time the main theme of the tragedy, the unhappy love of a subject for a princess, may have been suggested by some actual event among Du Ryer's contemporaries, such as, for instance, Buckingham's famous affair with Anne of Austria, or, what would suit more exactly, if the play had been written a few years later, the history of Cinq-Mars and Louise Marie de Gonzaga. This is a favorite theme with Du Ryer and reaches its fullest expression here. There is even a striking resemblance between the plots of *Alcionée* and *Cleomedon*, for in both a king promises his daughter to her lover and subject, and then breaks his word; the subject, though a distinguished warrior, yields to the king's will, while jealous nobles influence the king against him. On the other hand, *Alcionée* differs from *Cleomedon* by the simplicity of its structure and the pathetic nature of its ending. It may be that Du Ryer extracted from the numerous episodes of his earlier play the one which gave most opportunity to psychological development, and made out of this a classical tragedy instead of a romantic tragicomedy. Whether or not this connection exists, it is interesting to note how the dramatist's powers matured in the few years that elapsed between the dates when the two plays appeared.

The scene of the play is laid at Sardis in Lydia. Alcionée, finding that his humble birth prevents his marriage to Lydie, daughter of the king, has taken arms against the latter, and with the help of his enemies has reduced him to a single city and extracted from him the promise of his daughter's hand. After this, the hero has aided the king to expel the foreigners, and now, with peace restored, he is expecting to be united to Lydie. Here the play begins. Lydie is torn between her love of Alcionée and her desire to be true to her rank, which does not allow her to marry a man who is not of royal birth, and especially one who has revolted against her father. Alcionée relies upon the royal word, which the king would fain break. The decision is left to Lydie, who conquers her love sufficiently to refuse her suitor. Overwhelmed by her refusal, abandoned by his former friends,

[1] *Mémoires pour servir, etc.*, XXII, pp. 342–350.

out of favor with the king, Alcionée begs to be allowed to go into exile, but, when this is permitted him, he realizes that he can not live away from his ungrateful lady, nor find happiness among her enemies, who have become his own. He sees in suicide the only solution to his problem, and, having stabbed himself, is brought in to die at the feet of the now penitent Lydie.

If we consider this play from the protagonist's standpoint, we find it a tragedy of Racine's type. Alcionée is not a strong-willed hero, but a victim to his passion for Lydie, which first makes him forget loyalty and patriotism, and later brings him to humiliating submission and death. Lydie, on the other hand, is distinctly Cornelian in her devotion to duty and power to conquer her love. The former embodies the medieval spirit of chivalry; the latter typifies the seventeenth century ideal of the divine right of kings. It is the clashing of these two forces that forms the struggle of the play and finds its only logical outcome in the death of the leading person.

Racine is suggested not only by the hero's character and the fatal struggle in which he is involved, but by the skill which makes five acts out of a refusal of marriage, a permission to go into exile, and a suicide. The structure is such that the interest is gradually increased as the play goes on. In the first act, the lovers are brought on the stage, but do not appear together. Lydie is shown to be moved more profoundly by what she conceives to be her duty to her rank than by her love for Alcionée, while love for her is evidently his chief motive. He displays a pathetic confidence in the king's promise when Alcire, a false friend, comes to warn him against aspiring to wed the princess.

The second act introduces the king in scenes with each of the lovers. He shows his temporizing and revengeful nature by preparing to break his word and hide behind his daughter. At first he does not believe that Alcionée will ask for Lydie's hand, but he soon learns his intentions from the courtiers, and finally from the lover himself. He argues that he was forced to make the promise for the good of the state, and that for the good of the state he will break it. He reminds Alcionée of his low birth, whereupon the latter boldly retorts:

> "Se mettre au rang des Rois, ne le deuoir qu' à soy
> N'est pas moins glorieux que de sortir d'vn Roy."

The king answers that honor is not won by unlawful victories, and that, even if Alcionée can win justly, he will still have to get the consent of the princess. As Alcionée believes that the latter loves him, he begs the king to leave the matter to her, and, when the king has consented, rejoices in a lyric outburst:

> "Amour tantost propice, et tantost rigoureux,
> Est-il sous ton Empire vn Amant plus heureux?
> Si ie suis ton captif, mon seruage m'honore,
> Vne Princesse m'ayme, autant que ie l'adore;
> Et puis ie desormais esperer vainement,
> Si mon bon-heur consiste en son consentement?"

Even the courtiers seem sure of his success, for they now come to remind him of their friendship.

The third act, the act in which the struggle between the two victims of love and duty is keenest, begins with Lydie's *stances*, used, as in Corneille, for a monologue expressing conflicting emotions in a single breast.

> "Qu'ay-ie fait, qu'ay-ie resolu?
> Et dedans mon ame incertaine
> Qui sera le plus absolu,
> Ou de l'amour, ou de la hayne?
> Mais doy-ie encore consulter
> Apres que l'on m'a vû tenter
> Tout ce que peut vn aduersaire?
> Orgueil, honneur, cruelle loy,
> Doy-je tout faire pour vous plaire,
> Ne doy-je rien faire pour moy?"

She continues her lament, her love contending against respect for her rank and anger with Alcionée for daring to revolt against her father. Now, at last, the lovers are brought together before the audience. Alcionée, announced by an attendant, comes joyfully before Lydie to tell her that she may decide the question of their marriage; but she meets his advances coldly, saying that she will obey her father, whatever her own desires may be. He accordingly goes to seek the king, who, meanwhile, comes to explain to Lydie that he has left the decision to her, solely in order that she may refuse her importunate lover. He retires after bidding her remember that Alcionée is a subject and she a queen. Left alone, she resolves to give up all to her "gloire."

> "Par vne cruauté que i'ay desia blasmée,
> Monstrons nous malgré nous indigne d'estre aimée."

In the fifth scene the climax of the love affair is reached. Alcionée, informed that the king is with his daughter, returns to Lydie, who bids him cease to love her, reminding him of the evil he has done to the country and to her father. He is astonished at the change that he finds in her, and defends himself by the plea that he did all for her love:

> "Enfin si mes forfaits m'ont rendu redoutable,
> Si ie suis à vos yeux vn obiect detestable,
> Ce cœur, ce triste cœur par l'Amour consumé,
> Au moins par son Amour merite d'estre aimé."

This idea and her refusal are considerably developed in this duo, more cruel than the lovers' dialogues in the *Cid*, where the adherence of each to his own duty does not prevent his sympathy with the other's action. Lydie's rejoicing that her lover's rebellion has enabled her to conquer her love for him is unnatural, if she still loves him. The interview ends without comfort for the hero, now convinced that he is despised.

The first result of this scene is shown in the fourth act, when Alcionée begs the courtiers to see the king for him and learn what further punishment awaits him. They reward his trust by advising him to leave the country and slandering him to the king. Alcionée curses them, but he decides to take their advice and obtains from the king permission to go into exile. Then he asks himself to what country he can flee, where fate will not pursue him. He will be powerless to protect himself from his enemies, and, rather than banish himself, prefers to "laisser la vie où i'ay trouué l'Amour."

Now that her lover has been rejected, Lydie feels free to mourn for him and to repulse with bitterness those who propose to punish him further. She still loves him. Her "vaine et fiere grandeur" has brought her no happiness. Soon the news comes that Alcionée has stabbed himself, hoping that his death may be acceptable to her. In the last scene he is brought in to die at her feet. She reproaches herself for her high rank and her cruelty, but he answers,

> "Non, non souuenez-vous du triste Alcionee,
> C'est là l'vnique bien que veut sa destinee,
> Il le peut demander, il le peut obtenir,
> Car ce n'est pas l'aymer que de s'en souuenir."

The manner in which this play exemplifies classic rules is obvious. One room of the palace is apparently the only place represented. The time is little more than that of the performance. The action is extremely simple, for the persons are all concerned in the refusal, exile, and death, and no subordinate plot is employed. The concentration of the play is made natural by the impulsive character of the hero, the keenness of whose love and despair prevents hesitation. The interest is sustained by the carefully arranged series of interviews between important persons, who, each time they meet, have a slightly different mental attitude towards one another. Little space is needed for the narration of past events. The brief account of Alcionée's stabbing himself might have been substituted by a suicide on the stage, as in *Lucrece* and *Saül*. The grave and eloquent style shows greater power of expression than that displayed in the author's earlier plays. There is unity of tone as well as of structure.

The leading persons have been, perhaps, sufficiently described. Alcionée is a warrior, whose native vigor is shown in his first interviews with the king and in his haughty condemnation of his false friends, but love has so completely subdued him that we are given the impression of a confiding and devoted lover, humiliated and forsaken. Over against him stands the heroine, who remains cold through most of the play. Her statements that love as well as honor is struggling in her bosom are confirmed too little by her speeches to her father and lover for us to be convinced of their truth before the end of the play. It is only in the fifth act that her rôle is made human and dramatic. The king's cruel and timid rôle and that of his advisers, the hypocritical and treacherous friends of Alcionée, are important, not only in themselves, but as furnishing to the leading persons the appropriate background of a court characterized by absolutism, intrigue, and flattery. Of the two treacherous friends, Alcire is more talkative, more ready to cause the hero's ruin, while pretending to be his friend. The heroine's two attendants could easily be reduced to one. Finally, Achate is a mere confidant with no other characteristics than fidelity and desire to be of use.

The play has been compared[1] with the *Cid*, as it is concerned with young lovers, separated by the hero's crime and the heroine's sense of duty until the report of the hero's death arrives. But

[1] Cf. Philipp, *Pierre Du Ryers Leben*, p. 54.

in her rank and in the fact that she never yields to love, Lydie resembles the Infante rather than Chimène. In *Alcionée* the crime is less prominent than the difference in rank, while the ending and the hero are quite different from those of the *Cid*. Again, while Alcionée lacks the varied and brilliant beauty of the *Cid*, it is much more thoroughly classical in treatment. In his second attempt Du Ryer came nearer the ideal structure of a purely psychological tragedy than Corneille ever did, or any other French dramatist, as far as I know, before Racine.

Saül, the next tragedy, was published in 1642[1] and probably first acted in 1639 or 1640.[2] It must have been fairly popular, for it was republished in 1705 and 1737, and was mentioned in the *Parnasse françois*,[3] the *Anecdotes dramatiques*,[4] and the *Bibliothèque poëtique*[5] as one of Du Ryer's leading tragedies. The latter volume gives passages from the third act of the play and points out lines considered Cornelian. Fournier[6] notes the "ampleur toute shakespearienne" of the scenes between Saül and the Witch. Now it is doubtful whether this breadth of treatment interested Du Ryer's contemporaries as it does the modern reader. They probably considered the play inferior to *Scevole* and *Alcionée*. At the same time, *Saül* has a special historical value, indicated by the author in his dedication "à tout le monde":

"Ie le donne aux Grands et aux Petits, aux Profanes et aux Religieux, parce que les vns et les autres peuuent trouuer dans son subjet vne instruction sans aigreur et vn diuertissement sans scandale . . . ie ne demande point qu'on me donne de la reputation pour auoir fait quelques Vers qui peut-estre ne déplaisent pas; Ie demande seulement qu'on me sçache bon gré d'auoir au moins essayé de faire voir sur nostre Theatre la majesté des Histoires saintes. Comme j'ay eu cet auantage d'y faire paraistre le premier des subjets de cette nature auec quelque sorte d'applaudissement; si j'en ay merité quelque chose, ie souhaite pour ma recompense que ie serue en cela d'exemple, et que mes Maistres, ie veux dire ces grands Genies qui rendroient l'ancienne Grece enuieuse de la France, deuiennent mes imitateurs dans vn dessein si glorieux."

Du Ryer is, indeed, the first of the seventeenth-century classic dramatists to turn to the Bible for a plot. Other plays with a

[1] Privilege, April 8; *achevé d'imprimer*, May 31.

[2] The frères Parfaict, *Histoire du théâtre françois*, VI, 74-77, discuss it under the year 1639, but as they give no reason for such dating, their well-known inaccuracy renders their testimony of uncertain value.

[3] Page 249. [4] Page 176. [5] Pp. 306-313.

[6] *Théâtre français*, II, 70.

Biblical subject had been survivals of the medieval drama or of the sixteenth-century type of classic tragedy.[1] None written in the manner of the new school had been previously represented in a popular theater. *Saül*, therefore, is the first of the series of Biblical plays to which Boyer, Racine, and a number of eighteenth-century dramatists contributed. It may also have suggested to Corneille and Rotrou that dramatic plots could be found in the lives of the saints.

Du Ryer follows the account given in First Samuel (*Liber Primus Regum*)[2] of Saül's rejection as king, his visit to the Witch of Endor, and his death in battle with the Philistines. The main idea of the play is to show "l'homme sous la main de Dieu, la créature humaine, faible et bornée, se sentant de plus en plus écrasée par une volonté supérieure, dont elle souffre le poids, sans en comprendre les secrets desseins," as M. Faguet has well said[3] of Jean de La Taille's *Saul furieux*. But Du Ryer's Saül is never insane, and revolts, not against his own punishment, but against that of his guiltless children. The more human, intelligent, and self-sacrificing he is, the greater is his fall, and the stronger the arraignment of Providence, for Du Ryer's dedicatory hope that his play will make the theater "la plus agreable Eschole où l'on puisse apprendre la Vertu" does not prevent his enlisting our sympathies for Saül in his struggle with God. He is Du Ryer's most pathetic hero. It is not simply death that he suffers, but all the results of disobedience: his own further sin, his inability to atone for it, his humiliation, defeat, the loss of his children, his forced suicide.

The play is arranged so as to show these increasing disasters step by step. Saül is the central and dominant figure on whom all other characters depend, and in whom we are chiefly interested. The essential facts of the exposition, God's attitude towards Saül, his own understanding of it, his love and fear for his children, are shown in the opening lines, which the king addresses to his daughter, Michol, and his son, Ionathas:

> "Fuyez donc de mes yeux, fuyez d'vn miserable,
> De peur qu'en l'appuyant son sort ne vous accable,
> Et que d'vn Dieu vangeur l'équitable courroux,
> En tombant dessus luy, ne tombe dessus vous."

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[1] Cf. *La Perfidie d'Aman*, Paris, 1622.

[2] Especially XXV, 44; XXVIII, 3–20; XXXI, 1–6.

[3] *Tragédie française au XVIe siècle*, 144.

His children seek to reassure him by recalling his victories, but he replies that it is not the Philistines that he fears, but himself, ever haunted by a secret voice and fearing the awful silence of God, who will answer him neither by dreams, priests, nor prophets. Ionathas argues that the fidelity of the people is a sign of divine approval, and Saül is beginning to take hope, when Abner brings the news that Jerusalem has revolted against him. He execrates the fickleness of the city and sends Ionathas to put down the revolt, after a struggle with his desire to keep his son from danger. Michol then suggests that her husband, Dauid, will help them, but her words only rouse her father's jealous distrust of the man who is to succeed him. Phalti comes to announce that the Philistines are approaching and that Dauid is marching with them. Michol tries in vain to defend her husband by reminding Saül of his past services, and accusing Phalti of plotting against him, but her father curses Dauid and refuses to listen to her. His imperious and energetic nature is shown working his own destruction by this ready belief in Phalti and antipathy to his son-in-law.

The second act increases the difficulty of Saül's position. The enemy are about to attack; he is persuaded that revolt and treachery are rife in his own ranks; he is drawn by the silence of God to commit the crime of appealing to evil spirits. He sends his faithful agent, Phalti, to find someone who can put him into communication with the dead. A few moments before, becoming angered by his daughter's persistent championing of the cause of a supposed traitor, he has declared that Dauid's crimes make him unworthy to be his son-in-law, and has given Michol to Phalti. Then Ionathas returns from Jerusalem with the news that he has suppressed the revolt by assuring the people that the report of his father's hostility to Dauid is unfounded. He joins his sister and Abner in urging Saül to recall Dauid to his presence. Saül now finds himself face to face with the opposition of his children and the shame of having to appeal to Dauid in order to save his crown. He begs Ionathas to fight so well that he may owe the victory to him rather than to Dauid, and when Ionathas responds nobly to this appeal, Saül gives his consent to Dauid's return, but only to withdraw it before the next act begins.

Ionathas explains to Abner that Saül's refusal to listen to advice and his belief in Dauid's hostility are signs that Heaven

has abandoned him. They enter Saül's tent and find him alone with Phalti and disguised. Ionathas learns his father's plan of consulting a familiar spirit and protests against it, but without avail. Saül admits that he is wrong, but he refuses to change his design. He is wittingly pushed on by a power that he can not resist:

> "Tes discours, Ionathas, ont passé dans mon ame,
> Tu blâmes mon dessein, moy-mesme ie le blâme,
> Il porte dans mon sein vne juste terreur.
> Il me couure de honte, il me comble d'horreur,
> Ie reconoy mon mal, et ce qui m'en deliure,
> Bref, ie sçay mon deuoir, mais ie ne puis le suiure;
> Vn pouuoir que le mien ne sçauroit ébranler
> M'entraisne auec horreur où j'ay honte d'aller."

The night has fallen, and Saül, accompanied as in the Bible by two followers, goes to "vn bois pres de cette vallée" and approaches a "grand gouffre où la nuit regne eternellement." There Phalti leaves him for a moment to summon the *pythonisse*. When she appears, Saül assures her that she shall not be punished for assisting him, and implores her to bring up the ghost of Samuel. Though astonished at this request, she promises the king to do his will, and retires into the cave to perform the necessary mysteries. This gives opportunity for an effective monologue, in which desire to know his fate and horror at the thought of the crime struggle in the soul of the protagonist. He is about to abandon his project, when the sorceress returns to tell him that "desia la terre éclatte et s'ouure deuant vous." She is alarmed to learn that her visitor is Saül, but, reassured by him, she announces Samuel. The prophet's ghost asks Saül why he has disturbed his rest and learns the object of his mission. The prophet's response is earnest and terrible:

> "Pense à ce peuple saint par tes Lois égorgé
> Pour auoir contre toy l'innocent protegé,
> Pour auoir fait trouuer dans l'enclos de sa ville
> Au malheureux Dauid la faueur d'vn azile.
> Pense combien de fois ma voix t'a menacé,
> Et pour voir l'auenir regarde le passé.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Ce Dauid repoussé par d'iniustes efforts,
> Entrera glorieux au Trône d'où tu sors,

Et les Rois apprendront par ta cheute effroyable
Que qui regne en Tyran doit perir en coupable.
Saül: Ie receus la Couronne afin de la quiter,
Le Ciel me la donna, le Ciel peut me l'oster."

But this is not enough. He will be defeated and slain. Saül replies that he will gladly lose his life, if he must lose his good name; whereupon Samuel tells the final punishment:

"Ne t'imagine pas reuiure en tes enfans
Que tu vis tant de fois reuenir triomphans:
Mais sçaches, malheureux, que ce sont des victimes
Que tu verras tomber sous le faix de tes crimes:
Auant qu'vne autre nuit obscurcisse les Cieux
Sçache que tes enfans periront à tes yeux.
Saül: Helas! voylà le coup dont l'attainte me tuë."

When the ghost has gone, Saül expresses his grief at the loss of his children and his inability to understand Heaven's ways:

"Vous m'aimez comme enfans, vous plaignez ma misere,
Est-ce vn crime qu'aimer et plaindre vostre Pere?
Cependant, quels malheurs aux miens s'égaleront?
Tes enfans, me dit-on, tes enfans periront.
O Iustice du Ciel cachée à la Nature,
Estouffe au moins mes jours auant que ie murmure."

The fourth act shows Saül's state of mind after his interview with the spirit. Convinced of his own sin and condemnation, he no longer seeks to save himself, or to get further information about his fate, but turns all his efforts to saving his children and his country. Even this seems to him a vain purpose, if Heaven is his enemy, but he resolves to struggle nevertheless, as this is the only course worthy of a father and a king. He accordingly sends for Michol and shows her that he has conquered his enmity to Dauid. When she tells him of a prophetic dream she has had, and begs him not to expose himself to danger, he waves her tenderly aside, commends her past conduct, assures her of Heaven's justice, and hopes that she, as Dauid's queen, will inherit some of the honors he is about to lose. Finally he goes so far in his resignation that he wishes for Dauid the peace and wisdom that he himself lacked,

"Et plus ferme que moy sur vn pas dangereux,
Qu'il viue aussi puissant et meure plus heureux."

The still more difficult task awaits him of saving his sons from sharing his fate. In a masterly scene with Ionathas he bids him go and put down a new insurrection at Jerusalem, but his son begs to be allowed to stay and fight at his side. Saül insists, urges his royal right to command, entreats his son to obey him. Ionathas begs him not to believe what a "Demon" has told him, argues his right to sacrifice himself for his father and his country, implores him not to expose himself in the battle. In the end they go out to meet death together, Saül certain of his fate, but resolved to let nothing turn him from his duty, not even his love of his children, for "vn Roy n'est pas vray Roy quand il est trop bon Pere."

The last act deals with the death of the king and of his sons. The battle is depicted with a vividness rare in classic tragedies, and due partly to the introduction of persons suffering from wounds just received in the combat, partly to the order in which the events are arranged. First appears Phalti, mourning the death of Saül's sons and calling on his men to stop their flight. Abner joins him, and they ask each other for news of the battle. Abner believes the king and Ionathas either dead or captured; Phalti shows him the dead princes, whom he found dying on the field and brought to this "boccage." Ionathas, brought thither by his *escuyer*, deplores the fact that his "corps sanglant et deschiré" prevents his going to his father's aid. Phalti and Abner hasten off to meet the approaching enemy. The rapid and intense scene prepares the audience for Saül's arrival.

The last scene makes a fitting ending to the tragedy. Saül enters with his *escuyer*, in despair because he is living to see his people's shame. He finds his children lying dead and calls upon Heaven to destroy him. His only hope is that Ionathas has not shared the fate of his other sons, but he soon finds him at the point of death and sees him die in his arms, seeking with his last words to summon Abner to his father's defense. Left alone with his armor-bearer, Saül mourns his children, not because of their noble death, which has been for their country's sake, but because his own sins have been the cause of their punishment by this "espouuantable Arrest du Ciel inexorable." This is the result of greatness. Let those desire it who will! He would return to the battle to die, but his wounds prevent him. If he remains alive, the Philistines will take him prisoner and laugh at his afflic-

tion. He accordingly bids his armor-bearer slay him, but the latter refuses, and Saül is obliged to add suicide to his other crimes. As in the Bible, he falls on his sword, and his armor-bearer follows his example.

So completely does Saül fill this play that an analysis of it can not fail to give most of his characteristics. He is a complex figure, meeting Aristotle's requirement that a hero of tragedy should have in him both evil and good. He is a proud, overbearing, jealous monarch, who has sinned by his tyranny and disobedience, and who at the same time is capable of any sacrifice for his country or his children, and wins our admiration by the fortitude with which he bears his punishment. He does not murmur against Providence till his sons are made to suffer with him, for he remembers his own responsibility for the murder of the priests who sheltered Dauid, but he can not understand the blind visiting of his sins upon his innocent children. Du Ryer has made of him an Œdipus, sinning and repentant, but unable to escape the merciless punishment of his crimes or to protect his children from suffering with him. He has created no personality that better illustrates his ability to characterize with variety and force.

The presence in the play of Saül's children assists materially the exposition of his character. Two of the sons are not introduced, though they are several times alluded to, and lie dead near the stage in the last act. Their representation would probably have served only to confuse the play, without adding anything to what Ionathas exemplifies. The latter is a wise and valiant prince, devout, filial, patriotic. His respect for his father does not keep him from urging him to avoid the sorceress and recall Dauid. He even refuses to obey him when he knows obedience would injure both Saül and the state. His well-regulated mind can scarcely comprehend his father's emotional nature, but he never fails to sympathize with his sufferings. When he lies dying on the battle-field, he thinks only of saving Saül. Not unlike him is his sister, Michol, who gives the feminine element to the play and represents the only chance for happiness in the royal family. She defends Dauid, accuses Phalti, and tries to save her father. At the end of the second act, a monologue shows her struggle between love of Dauid and fear that he may be actually in revolt, but she intimates no distrust of him when she speaks with others. She does not appear to have become Phalti's

wife, for, although Saül gives her to him in his anger, he not long after bids her reign with Dauid and makes no further allusion to Phalti.

Du Ryer does not bring Dauid upon the stage, as do La Taille, Billard, and Nadal. A certain interest might have been gained by introducing this heroic figure, in whom all the leading characters of the play are so deeply interested, and whose triumph would have given an optimistic view of Providence. But by omitting him, Du Ryer is enabled to follow more closely the Biblical narrative, to concentrate the interest upon Saül's far more tragic character, and to preserve the unity of tone in the *dénouement*. Whether he is seeking to illustrate the awful effects of sin or the mercilessness of the Almighty, his omission of this character shows considerable power of artistic restraint.

The absence of villains is another characteristic of this play. A hasty reading might make us think Phalti intended for such a rôle, since the Bible represents him as taking Dauid's wife, and since we find him telling Saül of his rival's treachery, but there is no evidence to show that in the play he plotted against Dauid or took possession of his wife. He is accused of slander by Michol, who is grasping at any pretext to defend her husband, but he seems in reality to be merely bringing to the king a report that was due him. He does not urge him to crime, but even warns him against consulting the sorceress. Loyalty to Saül is his leading motive, one that induces him to misjudge Dauid as well as to carry out faithfully his master's orders and endeavor to rescue his children in the battle.

Similarly the *pythonisse* is not an evil person. She reminds us rather of a modern spiritualistic medium in her professions of faith in her work and her denial of mercenary motives. She is obliging in spite of her fear of detection, by no means the typical hag. The spirit she evokes, the ghost of Samuel, is merely a grave, eloquent, implacable voice. The other persons of the cast are insignificant and might have been omitted. Abner and the two *escuyers* are little more than confidants, to whom some interest is added by their Biblical associations. The tragedy may be considered largely a play of one rôle, so completely does Saül dwarf his children and attendants.

The Vulgate is the principal source of the play. Du Ryer idealizes somewhat the characters of Saül and his children, but

he preserves their main traits. He adds the revolt of Jerusalem, which Dauid's flight from Saül may have suggested to him, Michol's dream and her escape from Phalti, Ionathas's protests against his father's visit to the *pythonisse*, and minor details. The influence of Josephus[1] is visible at the end of the fourth scene of the fourth act, where Saül comments on the nobility of going to certain death. Du Ryer appears uninfluenced by *Le Mistére du Viel Testament*,[2] or by Claude Billard.[3] Although his play differs radically in most respects from La Taille's *Saul furieux*,[4] there are a few passages in which he imitates the latter work. La Taille's *pythonisse* says, "Ie ne veux que le taire en cecy pour loyer," and "I'iray faire à l'escart mes coniurations;"[5] the same character in Du Ryer declares, under the same circumstances:

"Me cacher au Roy ce sera mon salaire,"

and,

"Permettez-moy d'entrer dans cet antre, à l'escart,
Là ie dois en secret accomplir les mysteres."[6]

Again, Saul says to the ghost in La Taille,

"Pardonné moy encor Prophete venerable
Si la necessité et l'estat miserable,
Où ie suis me contraint de rompre ton sommeil;"[7]

in Du Ryer he says to him,

"Pardonne a mon malheur, pardonne à la contrainte;
Si je commets vn crime en cette extremité,
Ce crime est seulement de la necessité."[8]

On the other hand, Du Ryer's play was followed in certain passages by the abbé Nadal, a fact suggested by the frères Parfaict[9] and proved by Philipp.[10] To the examples cited by the latter I add the following:

"Samuel, ce Prophete,
Des volontez du Ciel le plus noble Interprete;"[11]

"Samuel! Quoy ce fameux Prophete,
Du grand Dieu d'Israël le fidelle Interprete."[12]

Du Ryer appears to preserve the unity of time. Between the first two acts Ionathas goes from the camp to Jerusalem, inter-

[1] *Antiquities of the Jews*, VI, ch. XIV, §4. [2] Paris, 1882, IV, 145–162.
[3] *Theatre*, Paris, 1610–1612.
[4] Paris, 1572, republished by A. Werner, Leipzig, 1908.
[5] Lines 611 and 628. [6] III, 5. [7] Lines 743–745. [8] III, 8.
[9] *Histoire du théâtre françois*, VI, 75. [10] *Pierre Du Ryers Leben*, 62, 63.
[11] Du Ryer, III, 5. [12] Nadal, *Saul*, The Hague, 1706, III, 7.

views the rebels, and returns; the third act passes at night; the fourth and fifth take place during the fighting on the following day. Now if Gelboé, scene of the camp and conflict, is considered to be where it actually is, some sixty miles to the north of Jerusalem, it is hard to see how these things could all occur within twenty-four hours. But Du Ryer has moved Gelboé much nearer Jerusalem by placing it "en Iudée," so that Ionathas may have made his trips in an afternoon, less than twenty-four hours before the completion of the battle on the following morning.

The scene is laid in Saül's tent, a space before it, a "bois" and "roche," inhabited by the *pythonisse*, and a "boccage" on the battle-field.[1] These localities are all near together, but they evidently take up more space than could be covered by the stage. In compensation for this slight violation of the unity of place, the author gives us a play practically free from *récits*. The last act is as full of the animation of battle as though it were written by a romanticist, and our impression is not chilled by a spoken description of the fate of important persons. Furthermore, Du Ryer chooses our point of view so well that we seem to see much more of the battle-field than the corner of it actually represented.

In considering the unity of action, we must notice that this is not, like *Lucrece*, a tragedy of the will, where all the episodes of the play lead up to the protagonist's final decision and the resulting *dénouement*. Saül has no power to choose. He is driven to destruction by a power which he can not resist. The play should show the steps of this process, as they follow each other in logical sequence, involving no characters who are not subordinate to Saül, no problem or plot which turns our attention from the idea of divine punishment. Now *Saül* fulfills these conditions. The facts of the exposition are given clearly and naturally in the first act by the argument between the king and his children as to God's attitude toward him, and by the announcement of Jerusalem's revolt and Dauid's desertion. The latter's relations with the king, which are treated at too great length in the second act, have a place in the play, because they show that God, before destroying Saül, has deprived him of the power to distinguish the friend best able to help him. This fact is brought out by Ionathas at the beginning of the third act, but it ought to have been made clearer in the second, for, unless we understand the connection

[1] Cf. III, 1, 3; V, 2.

between Saül's punishment and his reconciliation with Dauid, we are apt to think that scenes devoted to the latter question violate the unity of action. Saül's relations with the *pythonisse* are introduced to show him driven to further sin and coming to final certainty of his damnation. The fourth act demonstrates the extent of the punishment, which goes beyond him to his children and his country and is not lessened by the nobility of his conduct. I have shown in the analysis of the play how the fifth act gives the climax of it, and how it is itself arranged so as to gradually intensify our interest up to its concluding lines.

Saül stands apart from plays of its time in a number of ways. The theme of the consequences of sin, visited upon guilty and innocent alike, and of man struggling hopelessly against fate, leaves little room for sexual love, which is present only in the subordinate characters of Michol and Phalti. The introduction of spiritism with the *pythonisse* and the ghost of Samuel is most unusual in classic French tragedy. The suicides of Saül and his *escuyer* are not contrary to rule, but the death of Ionathas on the stage is. The setting in the mountains of Palestine, with the battle-field and the cave of a sorceress, gives a picturesqueness, an elemental character that is as appropriate to the theme as it is rare in the plays of Du Ryer's contemporaries.

The tragedy contains a number of generalizations in quotable form, as, "Si le peuple ne craint, luy meme il se fait craindre"[1]; "Le traistre fait vn bien quand il se fait conaistre"[2]; "Qui n'est qu'assez fort, ne l'est iamais assez."[3] In his use of these, Du Ryer avoids La Taille's error of impeding the action by didactic passages, out of keeping with the characters of the persons who deliver them. He makes his generalizations dramatic by using them as arguments intended to influence the action of the protagonist, not as comment upon his acts after their performance. In the latter part of this play, maxims give place to a noble eloquence in harmony with the pathos of the situation. Saül's farewell to Ionathas as they prepare for battle and his monologue after the death of his children are fine examples of dramatic verse.

Du Ryer published in 1644[4] a second tragedy of Biblical origin. It was probably first acted as early as 1642, and was

[1] I, 3. [2] II, 1. [3] II, 3.
[4] Privilege, July 15, 1643; *achevé d'imprimer*, March 30, 1644.

republished in 1737. In a preface the author explains that he calls it *Esther* because he has no right to change the title used in the Bible, but that the *Déliurance des Iuifs* would have been more appropriate to his treatment of the subject. Its mention by Mahelot[1] indicates that it was acted at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. The abbé d'Aubignac[2] says of it:

"Nous auons eu sur nostre Theatre l'*Esther* de Monsieur du Ryer, ornée de diuers euenemens, fortifiée de grandes passions, et composée auec beaucoup d'art; mais le succez en fut beaucoup moins heureux à Paris qu'à Roüen; et quand les Comediens nous en dîrent la nouvelle à leur retour, chacun s'en étonna sans en connoistre la cause; mais pour moy i'estime que la ville de Roüen, estant presque toute dans le traffic, est remplie d'vn grand nombre de Iuifs, les vns connûs et les autres secrets, et qu'ainsi les Spectateurs prenoient plus de part dans les interests de cette Piéce toute Iudaïque par la conformité de leurs mœurs et de leurs pensées."

Baillet,[3] commenting on this passage, remarks that this success at Rouen was rather due to the provincial taste, less exacting than that of Paris.

The story of Esther had already given rise to seven French plays:[4] *Aman*, by André de Rivaudeau, Poitiers, 1566; *Esther, Vasthi*, and *Aman*, by Pierre Matthieu, of which the first, published at Lyons in 1585, was subsequently divided into the other two; *Aman*, by Montchrestien, Paris, 1604; *La Perfidie d'Aman*, Paris, 1617 and 1622; *La belle Hester*, 1620, by Villetoustain. Written in a declamatory or trivial style, these plays are lacking in action and successful characterization. They seem to have had no influence on Du Ryer's play.

It is more probable that Du Ryer influenced Racine. Mesnard, who cites Du Ryer at length in comparing him with Racine, concludes that the latter "n'eut donc à puiser aucune inspiration chez celui de ses devanciers qui, par la proximité des temps et surtout par le talent, était le plus digne d'être consulté par lui."[5] But it is quite possible, as Mesnard admits, that Racine knew Du Ryer's play, and derived from it certain suggestions which

[1] *Memoire*, p. 5. Like *Alcionée*, it is named by the scribe in the table of contents, but not subsequently.

[2] *Pratique du theatre*, Paris, 1657, II, 89.

[3] *Jugemens des Sçavans*, Paris, 1685, 1686, tome IV, part IV, p. 275.

[4] Cf. Paul Mesnard, *Œuvres de J. Racine*, in *Grands Écrivains* edition, Paris, 1865, III, 446–449. I have been unable to find a copy of *La belle Hester*.

[5] Paul Mesnard, *op. cit.*, III, 449.

are not found in the Vulgate. In both plays Mardochée calls upon Esther for action rather than lamentation,[1] the king is surprised to learn that she is a Jewess, she is said to be of royal descent, and one of her maids is named Thamar.[2] In describing Haman's preparations for vengeance, Du Ryer writes,

> "Desia le fer est prest qui doit trancher vos iours . . .
> Qu'on doit enseuelir dans le mesme naufrage
> Les vieillards, les enfans, et tout sexe et tout âge;"[3]

while Racine makes Mardochée say,

> "Les glaives, les couteaux sont déjà préparés . . .
> Le fer ne connoîtra ni le sexe ni l'âge."[4]

A few lines further on Mardochée tells Esther,

> "Songez-y bien: ce Dieu ne vous a pas choisie
> Pour être un vain spectacle aux peuples de l'Asie,"

with which may be compared his admonition to her in Du Ryer's play,[5]

> "Croyez-vous que le Ciel vous rende Souueraine,
> Et vous donne l'éclat et le titre de Reyne,
> Pour briller seulement de l'illustre splendeur
> Que répandent sur vous la pourpre et la grandeur?"

Mesnard notes that both plays end with a couplet ascribing the result to God.[6] Bernardin[7] shows the similarity between lines 551–556 of Racine's tragedy and six lines from the first scene of the fifth act of Du Ryer's, where the same subject is discussed by the same person with exactly the same rimes. He also notes the resemblance between

> "Mardochée,
> Qu'attaque injustement vne haine cachée"[8]

and

> "contre Mardochée
> Cette haine, Seigneur, sous d'autres noms cachée."[9]

Finally, Du Ryer[10] makes Haman say of the Jews,

> "Des-ja de leur venin les Prouinces s'infectent;"

Racine makes him refer to this people, who[11]

> "D'vn culte profane infecte votre empire."

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[1] Du Ryer, IV, 1; Racine, II, 1. [2] Du Ryer, V, 5; Racine, III, 4.
[3] IV, 1. [4] I, 3. Cf. Mesnard, *Œuvres de J. Racine*, III, 476, 477.
[5] IV, 1. [6] *Op. cit.*, III, 536.
[7] *Théâtre complet de Jean Racine*, Paris, 1882, IV, 240.
[8] Du Ryer, V, 5. [9] Racine, III, 4. [10] IV, 2. [11] II, 1.

These quotations[1] show that Racine knew his predecessor's work, though he used it little. It should be especially noticed that the tone of the two tragedies is different, for Racine, as commentators remark, is full of the spirit of the Psalms and Prophets, while Du Ryer finds in *Esther* the material for a play of court intrigue, which has little that is religious about it. What has not been noticed, however, is that Du Ryer, whether intentionally or not, is in this matter nearer to the spirit of the Book of Esther, a work that is very little religious.

Du Ryer's play begins after Vasthi's refusal to obey the king's summons and after the choice of Esther to succeed her, but before the former queen has given up hope of being restored to favor. The first act is purely expository. We learn from the opening scene between Esther and her confidante, Thamar, just as we do from a similar first scene in Racine's play, who Esther is, and to what position she has been raised, but instead of the fear for her people that Racine's heroine shows, Esther here is afraid only that her new dignity will make her share Vasthi's fate. Mardochée tells her that she may overcome the king's hostility to the Jews and warns her against Haman. We learn that Mardochée has had her brought up among Persians and that she is believed to be one of them. A third scene contains a conversation between Haman and his confidant, Thares, in which the former speaks of his hate for Mardochée, who despises him, sets Esther against him, and has previously revealed a plot which would have put Haman on the throne. As ordinary vengeance is too small for this case, Haman has resolved to destroy Mardochée's whole people with him.

An interview between Vasthi and Haman begins the second act. This queen still hopes to rule and begs Haman to help her. She is desperate and declamatory, insisting that for her there is only "le thrône ou le tombeau," indignant that the king should replace her by this "fille du peuple." Haman professes to be faithful to Vasthi's interests and advises her to use on the king the power of her tears. She at first refuses, then decides to follow his advice, then fears that weeping may be considered an admission of guilt and begs Haman to plead her cause. This he agrees to do, explaining to his confidant, when Vasthi has left him, that

[1] Philipp, *Pierre Du Ryers Leben*, 72–75, cites most of the passages here referred to, and some which prove nothing except that both authors imitate the Vulgate.

his motive is love of Esther, for the latter will be lost to him if she becomes queen. That he is sincere in this purpose is shown in the next scene, where he seeks to persuade the king to reject Esther, on the ground that both nobles and people will object to seeing a woman of humble origin made queen. But his representations have no effect, and he is obliged to send word to Vasthi that she can not succeed without a revolution.

The preceding acts have prepared the way for two dramatic scenes in which Esther and Vasthi are brought face to face, first before the king, and then alone with Mardochée, a thing found neither in the Bible nor in the other French dramatists. At the beginning of the act, Haman introduces Esther into the presence of the king and "toute la cour." She approaches humbly, bringing a "cœur obeyssant" as her only adornment, and is told to mount the throne. Then Vasthi surprises the king by coming to ask an explanation of the treatment she has received. She tells him that she wishes to be judged again: to rule, if she is innocent; if guilty, to be put to death. Esther urges the king to allow her rival to remain queen, and the king retires to make his final decision. In the scene between the two women, Vasthi commands Esther not to seek to aid her, bids her remember her humble origin, and intimates that, if the king decides in her favor, it will only be because he is her lover. Esther is bewildered by her rival's ungracious response to her efforts in her behalf. She is soon left alone with Mardochée, with whom she discusses the chances of her success. The suspense is made more intense by the arrival of Haman, who tells Esther with much hesitation that the king, though still undecided, seems about to declare for Vasthi. But before he leaves, the crown and scepter are brought to Esther with the news of her victory. Left alone, Haman is at first in despair at his loss of Esther and the triumph of Mardochée:

> "Il nous quitte en vainqueur, il rit de mon courroux. . .
> Falloit-il ma raison te laisser desarmer,
> Falloit-il voir Esther? Mais falloit-il l'aimer?"

He soon reverts, however, to his original plan of destroying the Jews, for he hopes not only to slay Mardochée, but to get possession of Esther, whom he believes to be a friend of the Jews, although he does not know that she is herself a Jewess.

As Vasthi has now disappeared from the play, the remaining two acts are concerned with Haman's conspiracy. This has not been published abroad, as in the Bible, but it is known to Mardochée through Esther's confidante, Thamar, who has it from Thares, her lover and Haman's confidant. Mardochée tells Esther of the plot and bids her save her people. When she expresses fear, he replies that, if she refuses, she will be destroyed and her people saved in some other way. Haman confirms the truth of the plot against the Jews, and Esther pretends to hate her people and to rejoice in his efforts to destroy them. Haman is delighted at the progress of affairs, especially when he is summoned to consult the king about a certain reward.

The fifth act begins with the king's soliloquy on the importance of rewarding Mardochée for having revealed the plot against his life. "Ne pas recompenser, c'est apprendre à trahir," he thinks. Haman,[1] believing that he is himself the man to be honored, suggests, as in the Bible, that he be splendidly clothed, shown to the people, and proclaimed by one of the nobles as the special object of the royal favor. The king approves his suggestion, and the following dialogue ensues:

"Le Roy: Cognoy-tu Mardochée?
Haman: Oüy, Sire.
Le Roy: C'est celuy
Que i'aime, que i'honore, et qui fut mon appuy.

Haman: Quoy, Sire? Mardochée est ce subjet fidelle?
Le Roy: C'est luy, mon cher Haman, dont i'honore le zele. . .
Haman: Mais il fit son deuoir s'il vous rendit seruice.
Le Roy: Et ie feray le mien, si ie luy rends iustice. . .
Quoy veux-tu t'opposer à tes propres conseils?
A qui destinois-tu ces honneurs sans pareils?
Haman: Aux princes seulement, ces appuis des Prouinces.
Le Roy: Haman, de bons subjets me tiennent lieu de Princes."

When alone, Haman expresses his impotent rage and desires death, for

"Tomber au precipice est vne loy plus douce,
Que d'en faire sortir l'ennemy qu'on y pousse."

Mardochée, informed by Haman of his approaching honor, reproves him bitterly for what he takes to be a derisive reference

[1] The scene is given at length by Mesnard, *Œuvres de J. Racine*, III, 545–547, and by Bernardin, *Théâtre complet de Jean Racine*, IV, 285–287.

to the slaughter of his people.[1] Their meeting is followed by the last and most important scene of the play. The king sees Esther lay at his feet her crown and scepter, saying that she does so because an enemy is attacking an innocent people and the king's honor. Haman, when asked for advice, shows that he has failed to profit by his recent experience, for he counsels the king to put this enemy to death. When the king bids Esther tell who the enemy is, she points to Haman and reveals the plot against the Jews and his part in the conspiracy against the king, which Mardochée discovered. A letter, written by Haman to the Macedonians and now brought back by a Greek, is submitted to substantiate her accusation.[2] Esther does not ask for Haman's punishment, but for the rescue of the Jews, whom she declares to be her own people. The king is astonished to learn that Esther is a Jewess. He at once promises to save her kindred and orders Haman put to death, despite her plea for him. Mardochée ends the play by ascribing the *dénouement* to Heaven alone.

The unities of time and place are carefully preserved. Du Ryer condenses the Biblical narrative by the omission of the circumstances leading up to Esther's selection as queen, the banquets she gave to the king and Haman, and the Jews' revenge upon their enemies. He lays the scene "dans la Ville de Suse, entre la Perse et Babylone," apparently in one or two rooms of the palace. He is not careful to explain how Mardochée and Haman have such free access to the royal apartments, nor to account for many of the exits and entrances he finds necessary to his situations.

The unity of action must have been criticized by his contemporaries, for Du Ryer speaks in his preface of satisfying "ceux qui me pourroient demander où est l'vnité d'action." He explains that to understand this we must consider the Jews' deliverance as "la fin et le but que se propose cét Ouurage." "En effet, toutes choses y contribuënt au salut, et à la conservation de ce peuple, l'Orgueil de Vasthi, la Beauté d'Esther, l'Amour d'Assuerus, ou d'Artaxerce Roy de Perse, les Injustices d'Haman, et les soins de Mardochée." This explanation, however, is in-

[1] This scene, which has no parallel in the Vulgate, is apparently derived from Josephus, *Antiquities*, XI, ch. VI, §10.

[2] Haman's implication in a conspiracy against the king and his alliance with the Macedonians is found in the Vulgate, XVI, 14, among the Apocryphal chapters of the Book of Esther.

sufficient. The second and third acts do not advance the action, for at the end of them the situation is practically the same as at the beginning. The king's remembering to reward Mardochée and the proof of Haman's guilt by a letter brought by a Greek are new motifs introduced in the fifth act. The first three scenes of this act, concerned with the nature of Mardochée's reward, have little to do with bringing about the *dénouement*, for Haman's resolution to destroy the Jews had already been formed. The discovery of the plot against the Jews, through the love affair of confidants, is extremely weak. Finally, if the author intended to unify the play by representing the episodes as so many means by which the Jews were saved, he should have kept the thought of God constantly before the audience; but only the speeches of Mardochée and Esther's words in the last scene present this idea. The play remains a collection of loosely connected episodes dealing with Haman's efforts to possess Esther and to destroy Mardochée, Esther's rivalry with Vasthi, Mardochée's endeavor to save his people, the king's purpose to reward Mardochée, Haman's plot against the king and its punishment.

On the other hand, Du Ryer should be commended for omitting certain Biblical scenes that would have further violated the play's unity, for explaining how Esther passed as a Persian, and for strengthening Haman's reasons for hating Mardochée. He produces interesting scenes by introducing Vasthi. By connecting Haman with the plot which Mardochée discovered he is able to reduce two conspiracies to one.

The four principal characters are arranged symmetrically about the king. Esther and Mardochée gradually replace Haman and Vasthi in the royal favor. The characterization found in the Bible is expanded, and at times altered. Esther is given a feeling of pity for her enemies. She begs the king to spare Haman's life, instead of demanding that his ten sons be hanged, and exerts herself to save her people, but not to gratify their desire to slaughter their enemies. She is represented in the early part of the play as self-distrustful and willing to sacrifice her interests to those of Vasthi. Her patriotism is secondary to her humility and her reverence for Mardochée, but in the last two acts she shows decided power of initiative, outwitting Haman completely and saving her people in masterly fashion. No attempt is made to explain this sudden development.

A corresponding weakness is found in the treatment of Haman. At one time he is versed in diplomatic tricks, has risen to high influence with the king, is sought out by Vasthi, and feared by Mardochée; at another, he is deceived by inexperienced Esther and brought to condemn himself by his hasty advice. His stupidity here is particularly unnatural, as he has just been deceived in the matter of Mardochée's reward. In both these scenes he is a comic character, a sort of Patelin, fallen into his own traps, to the joy of the simple public. His first deception, however, is skilfully prepared. Bernardin[1] notes that Du Ryer surpasses Racine in so wording the king's remarks that Haman might reasonably expect the reward to be intended for himself. Moreover, Du Ryer makes Zethar speak of rewards when he summons Haman before the king.[2]

The other characters are more like their Biblical prototypes. Mardochée is the strong and gloomy patriot, full of faith in God and distrust of his fellows; Vasthi, the wilful and heartless queen, whose pride is contrasted with Esther's humility; "Assuerus ou Artaxerces," the weak monarch, influenced by his wives and his courtiers. The other characters are Zethar, who is merely a messenger, and the confidants of Esther and Haman. The only thing to be noted about them is the name of Tharès, which Du Ryer found given in the Vulgate[3] to one of the eunuchs who conspired against the king.

Du Ryer makes little attempt to represent Persian manners. This is the first play in which he shows marked interest in court intrigue, a subject that has great importance in his last plays, but the court is that of his own time rather than of Ahasuerus's, as can be seen from the homage paid to women, the necessity that Esther should be of royal birth, the king's references to the welfare of the state. Furthermore, Mardochée calls the court "vn theatre ouuert à tous les artifices . . . Où le plus défiant est le meilleur acteur."[4] Especially noticeable, as illustrating the influence of contemporary, rather than Persian, manners, are Haman's lines on religious strife in a state:

> "Car enfin quelle flame et quels malheurs éclattent
> Quand deux Religions dans vn Estat combattent?
> Quel sang épargne-on, ignoble ou glorieux
> Quand on croid le verser pour la gloire des Dieux?

[1] *Théâtre complet de Jean Racine*, IV, 242. [2] IV, 4. [3] *Liber Esther*, II, 21. [4] I, 2.

Alors tout est permis, tout semble legitime,
Du nom de Pieté l'on couronne le crime;
Et comme on pense faire vn sacrifice aux Dieux,
Qui verse plus de sang paroist le plus pieux."[1]

The first extant mention of *Scevole* occurs in an acknowledgment, made by Molière and other members of the *Illustre Théâtre*, that they owed to Louis Baulot 1100 livres, lent them to settle the indebtedness incurred by their purchase of plays from the "auteurs du Scevolle, la mort de Crispe et autres, pour servir à leurdit théâtre," and by their renting a "jeu de paume où ils font la comédie et autres affaires de leurdit théâtre."[2] As the document is dated September 9, 1644, it is certain that the play was written as early as that year. According to the *Mercure*, it was played at the Hôtel de Bourgogne in 1646. Its appearance in Mahelot also shows that it was given at this theater. It was probably taken to the provinces by Molière, for we find that his troupe played it shortly after their return to Paris, on June 7 and July 15, 1659, and on January 1, 1660.[3] It was not played again by these actors till 1678, five years after their leader's death.[4] They gave it at Fontainebleau in 1681; at Versailles in 1682, 1683, and 1685[5]; at the newly formed *Comédie Française* nearly every year from 1681 to 1695, some years as often as three times.[6] It is mentioned in the *Repertoire des comedies françoises qui se peuuent jouer en 1685*,[7] where it is listed with Rotrou's *Venceslas*, Tristan's *Marianne*, and a number of Corneille's pieces, as the only tragedies written by the older generation of seventeenth-century dramatists that were still represented.

With the exception of one representation in 1698, two in 1704, and one in 1705, it was played no more at the *Comédie* till 1721, when it was revived and given eleven times. In 1727 it had five representations, one in 1746, four in 1747.[8] In his *Parnasse François*,[9] written between 1726 and 1731, Titon du Tillet declares that it was played almost every year at the court and at Paris. Clément and l'abbé de la Porte say that it was still played in

[1] IV, 2. Du Ryer seems here to have reached a tolerant position that contrasts strongly with the fanatical lyrics of his youth.

[2] Eudore Soulié in *Correspondance littéraire*, January 25, 1865, p. 84.

[3] La Grange, *Registre*, pp. 7, 8, 14. [4] *Ibid.*, 203.

[5] *Ibid.*, 266, 267, 293, 309, 345.

[6] Joannidès, *La Comédie Française de 1680–1900*.

[7] MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, anc. fonds fr. 2509, p. 7.

[8] Joannidès, *op. cit.* [9] P. 249.

1775.[1] Finally, Voltaire, in a letter of August 27, 1776, states that Lekain will play it at Fontainebleau.[2] *Sceuole* is, then, one of the very few plays written by Corneille's contemporaries that were acted for more than a century.

Some delay in its publication was due, perhaps, to its having been first played by Molière's obscure troupe. Although acted as early as 1644, the privilege was obtained only on August 31, 1646, and the work finished on January 2, 1647. The Elzevirs issued a reprint in 1654. There were other editions in 1688, 1705, and 1737. Marmontel published it in 1773 as one of the *chefs-d'œuvre* of the French theater.

Critical opinion seems at first to have esteemed it less highly than *Alcionée*, for d'Aubignac, Ménage, and Saint-Evremond fail to mention it, though they praise the earlier tragedy. Chappuzeau,[3] however, cites it as an excellent book for teaching patriotism to young men. The eighteenth and nineteenth century critics consider it Du Ryer's best work. The following notice and criticism of a representation are found in the *Mercure:*[4]

"*Personnages et Acteurs.*

Tarquin, Roy des Romains	Le sieur Poisson fils.
Porsenne, Roy d'Etrurie	Le sieur le Grand.
Arons, fils de Porsenne, amoureux de Junie,	Le sieur Q. Dufresne.
Junie, fille de Brute, amante de Scevole .	La Demoiselle Duclos.
Scevole, amoureux de Junie	Le sieur Baron.

"Malgré l'air gothique de cette Piece, les expressions suranées, et les jeux de mots, tout-à fait hors d'usage, elle n'a pas laissé d' être goutée, et de faire plaisir. Les sentimens élevez et la grandeur Romaine s'y font sentir à chaque instant. C'est dommage que l'action principale et le fond du sujet soit un assassinat. Le quatriéme Acte a extremement plu. Se [Le] sieur Baron, qui déclame avec beaucoup d'énergie, peint dans un recit du second Acte, Rome affligée et réduite aux derniers abois par la famine, qui a été fort applaudi . . . Cette piece fut representée dans sa nouveauté en 1646 par la Troupe Royale de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne et eut un succès prodigieux. On nous assure que les quatre principaux rôles étoient remplis alors par Bellefleur, Blandimare, Beau-Soleil, et Bellerose (qui joüoit Scevole) et celui

[1] *Anecdotes dramatiques*, III, 176.

[2] *Correspondance générale.* I am indebted for this fact to Philipp, *Pierre Du Ryers Leben*, 83.

[3] *Le Théâtre François*, Paris, 1674, p. 23.

[4] July 18, 1721.

de Junie, par une Comedienne en reputation pour les grands rôles Tragiques, nommée Duclos, grand mere de celle qui soutient encore aujourd'hui cette réputation avec tant d'éclat sur la Scene Françoise."

The writer goes on to say that this rôle was subsequently taken by the Demoiselle Beauval; that of Tarquin, by Torillière père; of Porsenne, by Chammêlé; of Sceuole, by Baron.

Titon du Tillet, the frères Parfaict, Mouhy, and La Vallière consider it Du Ryer's leading work. The last critic adds: "Elle est bien conduite, bien versifiée, et les caracteres en sont grands et sublimes. Le role de Junie est digne de Corneille."[1] Passages from it are given in the *Bibliothèque poëtique.*[2] "J'ose croire," writes Voltaire, "que l'*Astrate* de Quinault, le *Scévole* de du Ryer, *l'Amour tyrannique* de Scudéri, bien rétablis au théâtre, pourraient faire de prodigieux effets;"[3] but later he calls it an "antiquaille," and says, "Je suis persuadé qu'une jeune reine qui a du goût ne sera pas trop contente de ce *Scévola*, qui n'est qu'une vieille déclamation digne du temps de Hardy."[4]

Marmontel has a different opinion:

"Quoique trop négligée dans son style, souvent lâche, diffus, prosaïque, sans couleur et sans mouvement, cette piece est fort superieure à toutes celles du même Auteur. On y reconnoît visiblement le ton que Corneille donna au Théatre. Les caracteres y sont bien dessinés et habilement contrastés. L'intérêt même en est Cornelien, s'il est permis de s'exprimer ainsi: l'amour y est subordonné à l'héroisme républicain, non-seulement dans l'ame de Scévole, mais dans celle de Junie, fille de Brutus. Rien n'y inspire la pitié, rien n'y excite la terreur; mais il y regne une grandeur de sentimens qui nous étonne."[5]

Fournier believed in 1871 that *Sceuole* could still be played with success.[6]

The plot of the tragedy is found in the tenth, twelfth, and thirteenth chapters of Livy's second book. The introduction of Aruns, son of Porsenne, and his rôle of pacificator seem suggested by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[7] Livy's narrative is greatly expanded, but at times the imitation is very close, especially in the speeches of Sceuole after his capture.[8] To the list of persons given above by the *Mercure* must be added the Etruscan captains,

[1] *Bibliothèque du Théâtre françois*, I, 514.
[2] Paris, 1745, pp. 306–313. The citations are from III, 4; IV, 5; V, 5.
[3] *Œuvres* (Moland's edition), VII, 41.
[4] *Ibid.*, L, 78.
[5] *Chefs d'œuvre dramatiques*, preface to *Scévole*, p. vi.
[6] *Théâtre français*, II, 72.
[7] V, ch. 30.
[8] Cf. Livy, II, 12, with *Sceuole*, IV, 5; V, 4, 5.

Marcile and Licine, and Fulvie, the heroine's *suivante*. The scene is laid "dans le Camp de Porsenne deuant Rome." According to Mahelot[1] the representation requires "des tante [*sic*] et pauillons de guerre."

The first act exposes the situation in the camp of Porsenne before the arrival of Sceuole. Having undertaken to restore Tarquin to his throne, Porsenne has defeated the Romans in battle and has begun the siege of the town, but his heart is not greatly in his work, for he is constantly irritated by Tarquin's exactions and his exhibitions of ingratitude. The two kings begin the play by a discussion of military policy, Tarquin urging an attack upon the city, Porsenne preferring to starve it into surrender. When the latter finally agrees to the assault, he learns that Tarquin has anticipated his consent by allowing his men to attack the bridge. Marcile brings the news that the battle has begun and that both sides are fighting bravely. Arons then comes to tell them how Horace defended the bridge and swam the river. Tarquin is furious to think that the Romans have escaped him, while Porsenne turns more calmly to investigate what ravages hunger has made upon them. With this in mind, he has Licine bring in a Roman maiden, recently captured, who is found to be Iunie, daughter of Brute. She tells them that she has not been in Rome since before the arrival of the Etruscans, and that she was captured in a temple, where she was praying for the success of the Roman arms, but she is confident that the Romans will never surrender. Iunie's manner toward Porsenne is respectful, but she does not attempt to conceal her hatred and contempt for Tarquin. Porsenne promises her his protection and puts her in charge of his son, Arons. The latter tells her that she and Sceuole are the only Romans dear to him, that he is still in love with her, but that he fears that Sceuole, who saved his life, has been killed in battle.

The second act begins with a monologue in which Iunie laments her city, almost reduced to surrender, and her lover, supposed dead:

> "Amour de la Patrie, ô belle et forte chaisne
> Qui dois seule enchaisner le cœur d'vne Romaine,
> Amour de la Patrie enfin pardonne moy
> Si l'amour de Sceuole y regne auecques toy."

[1] *Memoire*, folio 83.

She is interrupted by Fuluie, who tells her that she has just seen Sceuole alive in the camp of Porsenne. He was armed like an Etruscan and exclaimed that Iunie's presence put an obstacle in his path. This intelligence changes Iunie's grief for her lover's death into fear lest he be a traitor to Rome, a thing that her love forbids her to believe. While she is struggling between these feelings, Sceuole enters, and explains that his purpose in coming to the camp is the killing of Porsenne. When Iunie asks if Rome is reduced to such extremity that it can be saved only by an assassination, he describes the effects of the famine:

"Là le fils chancelant de foiblesse et d'ennuy
Mettant son Pere en terre y tombe auec[ques] luy;
Icy l'enfant se meurt d'vne mort triste et lente
Sur le sein espuisé de sa mere mourante,
Et la mere qui voit ce spectacle inhumain
Se meurt en mesme temps de douleur et de faim."

He goes on to recount deeds of heroic sacrifice on the part of the citizens. Iunie is touched, but she still would save Porsenne, to whom she is grateful. Sceuole knows that the Etruscan king formerly loved Iunie and wonders if that is why she wishes him spared. Iunie retorts by accusing him of seeking Porsenne's life through jealousy. Sceuole denies this charge, and tells of his taking his plan to the Roman Senate and receiving their approval. Iunie begs him to give her time to speak with Porsenne before he kills him, for she may be able to save Rome by means of Porsenne's love for her, and Sceuole reluctantly consents. They retire as they hear the approach of the kings and their suite. The act ends with a scene in which Porsenne expresses his apprehension of the misfortune indicated by a sacrificed animal, and Tarquin taunts him as follows:

"Donc vous vous figurez qu'vne beste assommée
Tienne nostre fortune en son ventre enfermée,
Et que des animaux les salles intestins
Soient vn temple adorable où parlent les Destins.
Ces superstitions et tout ce grand mystere
Sont propres seulement à tromper le vulgaire;
C'est par là qu'on le pousse, ou qu'on retient ses pas
Selon qu'il est vtile au bien des Potentats."[1]

[1] II, 4. Philipp, *Pierre Du Ryers Leben*, 81, compares this passage with Scudéry, *Mort de Cesar*, II, 4, and, after Moland and Marmontel, with Voltaire, *Œdipe*, IV, 1. It should be noted that this does not indicate that Du Ryer shared Voltaire's skepticism, for he puts the verses in the mouth of Tarquin, the play's villain.

When Porsenne expresses his disapproval of these sentiments, Tarquin goes on to accuse him of allowing his love for Iunie to affect his plans. "Ces Dieux que l'on m'oppose Sont de belles couleurs qui cachent autre chose." In reply Porsenne accuses Tarquin of ingratitude and angrily leaves him, while Tarquin soliloquizes on his own pride and what he considers Porsenne's pusillanimity.

The third act begins with a debate between Arons and Marcile as to the proper policy for Porsenne. The king hears each urge his opinion, much after the manner of Cinna and Maxime before Auguste. Arons says that his father has shown his ability to capture Rome and begs him to punish Tarquin's insolence by not doing so. Marcile replies that to raise the siege would be an admission of guilt. He should take Rome and revenge himself on Tarquin by not giving it to him. He further advises him to marry Iunie, in order to keep the Romans in subjection. Porsenne is wavering between the two plans when Iunie comes to beg him to raise the siege. She recites the crimes of the Tarquins and the virtuous deeds of the Romans, and urges him to oppose tyranny rather than aid it. He replies by asking her to marry him, or, if she considers him too old, to accept the hand of his son. She answers:

"Mais tourne vn peu les yeux, voy Rome[1] et luy demande
Ce qu'il faut que je fasse, et ce qu'elle commande.
A quelque grand hymen qu'on m'aille assujettir,
Porsenne c'est ma mere, elle y doit consentir.
Parle-donc, respons-nous ô Rome combatuë;
Dois-je joindre ma main à la main qui te tuë?"

Left alone in order that she may come to another decision, Iunie is found by Sceuole, eager to know the result of her interview with the king. She tells him that despite Porsenne's greatness of soul, he must be slain, as he is the friend of a tyrant. She suffers now only for Sceuole, whom she sends into danger, assuring him of her love and encouraging him to die for Rome:

"Ie t'ayme et ie te voy d'vn œil presque enuieux
Tenter pour le pays vn peril glorieux . . .
Va, tu ne peux mourir d'vn plus noble trespas,
Mais l'amour peut-il perdre et ne souspirer pas?"

The action is rapid in the next act. Fuluie comes to Iunie with the report that some one, perhaps hired by Tarquin to do

[1] The original has "Horace," an obvious error.

the deed, has assassinated Porsenne and then made his escape. A moment later Sceuole crosses the stage, pursued by Marcile. Soon Sceuole is overpowered and led back by Marcile to the stage, where he meets Arons and Iunie The former is astonished to find that the friend who saved his life has attempted to assassinate his father. Gratitude and desire for vengeance struggle in his breast. Sceuole tells him that, in spite of his friendship, he would have slain him as well as his father, if he had attempted to restore Tarquin. When he is told that Porsenne is alive and unhurt, Sceuole laments his mistake and bids Arons punish him for not accomplishing his mission:

> "Prens le party d'vn pere, et pour venger ses droits
> Ie t'aquite auiourd'huy de ce que tu me dois.
> Ie suis coupable Arons; Mais quoy qu'on delibere
> Mon crime est seulement d'auoir manqué ton Pere.
> O Rome! ô mon pays pardonne cette erreur,
> La faute est de mon bras, et non pas de mon cœur."

Iunie praises his valor and envies his lot, assuring him again of her love. Arons, who now learns for the first time that Sceuole is his rival, is left to decide whether he ought to save or punish him.

Tarquin and Porsenne discuss the assassin's identity. The former denies indignantly the accusation that he has employed him, and asks for the account of the deed. A *récit* is avoided by Porsenne's simple reply that he was listening to some warriors when he saw the sword flash and Stace fall to the ground. He knows that the blow was intended for him, as he heard the assassin say, "meurs Porsenne." Sceuole, brought before them, replies to their questions with dignity and force:

> "Ie suis Romain, Porsenne,
> Et tu vois sur mon front la liberté Romaine.
> I'ay d'vn bras que l'honneur a tousiours affermy
> Tasché comme ennemy de perdre l'ennemy. . .
> I'auois conclu ta mort, ordonne tu la mienne?
> I'y cours d'vn mesme pas que i'allois à la tienne.
> En fin ie suis Romain; et de quelques horreurs
> Que tu puisses sur moy signaler tes fureurs,
> Le propre des Romains en tous lieux inuincibles,
> C'est de faire et souffrir les choses impossibles.
> Frape voila mon cœur; mais ne presume pas
> Par mon sang respandu te sauuer du trespas,

D'autres cœurs que le mien forment la mesme enuie,
D'autres bras que le mien s'arment contre ta vie,
Et mille transportés d'vn courage aussi fort
Recherchent comme moy la gloire de ta mort."

Porsenne is amazed at Sceuole's courage in the presence of the king whom he has tried to murder and who has the power to put him to death. Tarquin asks why Porsenne was attacked rather than he, and receives the bitter answer that the Romans have no fear of him, a "corps sans vigueur," while Porsenne is a real obstacle to Roman liberty. He calls on the latter to abandon Tarquin, but he is told to name his accomplices, and is led away to be tortured when he refuses with the proud words:

"Ne les demande point, ils ne se cachent pas,
Ils se vont descouurir par ton proche trespas."

The fifth act begins with a monologue, in which Arons is wondering what to do with regard to Sceuole, when Iunie, led in by the guards, offers to give up her love for the Roman hero if Arons will save him. Marcile brings word that the fires are lighted and all is ready for Sceuole's torture. Porsenne follows him, exclaiming at his captive's fortitude, and describes how Sceuole has burnt off his right hand, and how he has ordered further torture put off until he can decide what to do to so brave an enemy. Iunie tells him that this is what he may expect from all Romans, and glories in having encouraged Sceuole to assassinate him. Angered by her bravado, Porsenne bids Arons continue the torture, but the latter tells him that he owes his life to the captive. Porsenne again hesitates, and orders Sceuole to be brought before him for the final decision.

Sceuole and Tarquin enter simultaneously, the latter blaming Porsenne for delaying the death of the assassin, the former advising his own execution, for "il me reste vne main, garde qu'elle ne s'arme." Porsenne is brought by the impertinence of Tarquin as much as by the valor of Sceuole to decide the matter. He emulates Sceuole by freeing him, returning to him his sword and bidding him go back to tell the Romans that he fears neither them nor him. Overcome by this magnanimity, Sceuole tells Porsenne that he is one of three hundred youths who have conspired against him and that he is sure to fall a victim to one of them. Porsenne again bids Sceuole return to Rome. Tarquin demands that

Sceuole, as his subject, be delivered to him for punishment, and, when Sceuole appeals to Porsenne, he accuses the latter of favoring his enemies, and then leaves the stage, threatening vengeance. Porsenne is thus brought to his final decision, which makes the *dénouement* of the play. He will raise the siege of Rome:

> "La liberté de Rome est enfin ma vengeance.
> Ce sera son supplice, et ce sera ton prix
> Pour auoir sceu deffendre et conseruer mon fils."

Arons shows his gratitude to Sceuole by surrendering Iunie to him, and Porsenne finds their marriage an appropriate accompaniment to the rescue of Rome.

This play is distinctly Cornelian. The political subject from Roman history, the intense patriotism, the elevated tone, the subordination of love to other emotions, the appeal to admiration rather than pity, the eloquent and sententious style, all recall the works of Du Ryer's contemporary. Sceuole resembles Curiace; Iunie, Emilie. The conflict between monarchical and republican ideas, the debate of Arons and Marcile before Porsenne, the conspiracy against the latter, and his magnanimous conduct towards his would-be murderer find their counterpart in *Cinna*, with which play *Sceuole* has verbal likeness in at least one couplet.[1] It is worth noting that the play in which Du Ryer resembled Corneille most closely is the one that was best known and that remained longest on the stage.

Classic rules of structure are followed in the main. The time represented is only a few hours. The place, which is in the camp of Porsenne before Rome, is probably limited to a space between the king's tent and Iunie's, although the exact location is left vague. The unity of action is largely, but not perfectly, preserved. The object of this action is the raising of the siege of Rome, a thing that is accomplished through various influences brought to bear upon Porsenne, who thus becomes the central figure of the play. These influences are primarily his admiration for the Romans, excited especially by the deeds of Horace, Iunie, and Sceuole, and his disgust at the insolent ingratitude of Tarquin.

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[1] *Cinna*, I, 1: "Que par sa propre main mon père massacré
Du trône où je le vois fait le premier degré."
Sceuole, III, 3: "Tu verras qu'vn grand Roy par ses coups massacré
Du throne qu'il vsurpe est le premier degré."

This similarity is noted by Marmontel, *Chefs d'œuvre dramatiques*, *Scévole*, p. 109.

They are shown in the description of Roman valor made in the first act, Iunie's appeal to Porsenne in the second, the heroism of Sceuole in the last acts. This practical exhibition of fortitude proved to Porsenne more clearly than anything else the invincible spirit of the Romans. His decision must also have been influenced by the news of the extensive conspiracy against his life, less directly by his love for Iunie and his gratitude to Sceuole for saving his son's life. It is clear, however, that these things were not enough to decide him, for it was Tarquin's expressions of ingratitude and his insults after the news of Sceuole's pardon that finally brought him to declare in favor of the Romans. The gradual development of hostility between the two kings is skilfully shown, from the first act, in which Porsenne argues with Tarquin but yields to him, to the fifth act, in which Tarquin leaves the stage abandoned by his former protector. The pardon of Sceuole is thus immediately connected with the saving of Rome, for it is the final cause of the separation of the kings.[1] On the other hand, Iunie's love for Sceuole and Arons's love for her are not connected with the action, as they bring about neither the freeing of Sceuole nor the raising of the siege. Du Ryer undoubtedly introduced these sentiments to add interest to his play and to give rise to struggles in the minds of important persons, despite the fact that they violate the unity of action.

Out of respect for the *bienséances*, Du Ryer does not represent on the stage the burning of Sceuole's hand, for such a representation, if not ludicrous, would have been horrible rather than tragic. Instead, he has it described by Porsenne to Arons and Iunie, three persons intensely interested in the event. The only other *récit* is in the first act, where the action is not yet sufficiently rapid to be retarded by it. The account of Sceuole's attempt to murder Porsenne is told with the greatest brevity. The scene that would have depicted it is omitted on account of the actual murder it involved; but all acts of physical violence are not excluded, for Sceuole is shown defending himself as he tries to escape to Rome after his attempt upon the king's life.

The characters are arranged somewhat as in *Esther*, with the king as the central figure: on one side of him are Tarquin and Marcile, who urge him to take Rome; on the other are Sceuole, Iunie,

[1] Marmontel understands that the object of the play is the deliverance of Rome, rather than the pardon of Sceuole, but he does not see how well this unifies the play.

and Arons, who advise him to give up the siege. But Porsenne is a nobler figure than Assuerus. He embodies the most admirable qualities of the absolute monarch. He seeks to restore Tarquin because he believes that "qui blesse vn Roy seul blesse tous les monarques."[1] He is a prudent and successful warrior, a worshipper of the gods, a grave and sagacious ruler, capable of inflicting torture when his country's interests demand it. At the same time, he is a generous foe, who admires his enemies' valor, an affectionate father, a long-suffering ally of Tarquin, whom he abandons only after repeated provocation. It is unfortunate that Du Ryer finds it necessary to have him in love with Iunie, for this sentiment is not required by the plot and makes Porsenne ridiculous, especially when he so readily withdraws his suit in favor of his son.

In sharp contrast with Porsenne is Tarquin, overbearing toward his subjects, ungrateful and insulting towards his benefactor, impatient, proud, skeptical. He gives us Du Ryer's notion of the tyrant, as Porsenne represents his ideal monarch. Marcile, a warrior and messenger, who urges Porsenne to take Rome and succeeds in disarming Sceuole, is comparatively unimportant. Indeed these two characters do not offer strong opposition to the Romans, for Tarquin contributes to his own destruction and Marcile lacks force. There would be little struggle in the play, were it not that the sides are made even by the fact that Porsenne is, at the beginning of the play, a declared enemy of Rome.

On the other side are the Roman lovers, who are ready to sacrifice gratitude, friendship, love, and life to patriotism. Sceuole is made more real by his fears that the presence of Iunie may prove an obstacle to his performance of duty, and Iunie by her tears over her lover. Both are conscious of their virtues, and not slow to describe them. Each, strange to say, at times suspects the other's motives. There is a certain circumspection in their relation, for Iunie has made Sceuole suffer her "froideurs," and when she tells him of her love he does not know whether "pour m'exciter tu feignes cette flame," or whether "un feu veritable"[2] is the cause of it. In the case of both, love pays the penalty of subordination to another emotion. To them is joined Arons, unsuccessful rival of Sceuole, to whom he owes his life, and who has sought to murder his father. The introduction of this

[1] I, 1. [2] III, 4.

character doubtless enhanced the value of the play to audiences desirous of seeing in noble souls the conflict of admirable emotions and the victory of unselfishness. In these three characters and Porsenne, there is a constant emulation in generosity, a series of victories over love that gives the play an elevation of tone worthy of Corneille and thoroughly in keeping with the spirit ascribed to the Romans.

Du Ryer's last tragedy, *Themistocle*, was probably represented at the Marais toward the end of 1646 or the beginning of 1647, and held its own against Corneille's *Héraclius*, given about the same time at the Hôtel de Bourgogne.[1] Its popularity is attested by the fact that it was published three times at Paris, once at Leyden, and once at Lyons.[2] Seventeenth-century writers make no special criticism of it. In the eighteenth century the *Bibliothèque poëtique*[3] quotes a passage from the first scene of its third act. Marmontel[4] finds it "composé avec sagesse . . . avec une simplicité assez noble, et d'un ton assez élevé," and seems to rank it with *Alcionée* as next to *Scevole* among Du Ryer's plays.

The source of the play is Diodorus Siculus.[5] Du Ryer must have been familiar also with Plutarch and Nepos, but Diodorus is the only one of the three historians who, like Du Ryer, speaks of Xerxes as still king when the Athenian hero arrived at the Persian court, who refers to the efforts of Mandane, the king's near relative, to get vengeance for her losses at Salamis, and who makes the king marry his guest to a Persian woman of distinction. The name Artabaze may be taken from Artaban, a Persian dignitary mentioned by Diodorus[6] and Plutarch[7]; that of Roxane, a confidante, from Rhoxanes, an official referred to by Plutarch.[8] Du Ryer expands the story, especially in the plotting against the hero and the testing of his patriotism. He changes it most noticeably in the *dénouement*.

The first two acts are devoted to the exposition, made chiefly by a series of dialogues between Roxane and other persons.

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[1] Cf. frères Parfait, *Histoire du théâtre françois*, VII, 97, 118, and their quotation from the *Déniaisé* of Gillet de la Tessonnerie (Paris, 1648), in which the two plays are referred to by rival lovers: "J'ai fait voir à Daphnis dix fois Héraclius—Moi, vingt fois Thémistocle, et peut-être encore plus." Its absence from Mahelot's *Memoire*, in which *Héraclius* appears, shows that it was probably not acted at the Hôtel de Bourgogne.

[2] Cf. Appendix A.

[3] Pp. 306–313.

[4] *Œuvres*, Paris, 1820, VII, 417.

[5] XI, chapters 57 and 58.

[6] Chapter 59.

[7] *Themistocles*, XXVII.

[8] *Ib.d.*, XXIX.

She relates to a certain Hydaspe, newly returned to court, that Themistocle, exiled from Greece, has been kindly received by Xerces, but that his enemies, jealous of the favor shown him, have accused him of being a Greek spy, a charge that he is this day to answer before the king. We discover that Mandane is plotting against Themistocle for destroying her lover, Cambise, at Salamis, and against Artabaze, the king's favorite, who seems to be a friend of her enemy. But Artabaze, who is in love with Mandane's daughter, Palmis, and has pretended friendship for Themistocle merely because he thought Mandane favored him, now learns her real purpose and promises to help her destroy Themistocle. Mandane promises to Artabaze her daughter in marriage if he can succeed. Roxane and Palmis, on the other hand, seek to save Themistocle; they are both in love with him, while he is in love with Palmis. Just how the conspirators are seeking to undo the hero is not made clear, but we may infer that they are responsible for the charge of spying which has been made against him.

Such is the somewhat complicated situation at the beginning of the third act, where the dramatic interest commences. Xerces enters with his court and calls upon Themistocle to defend himself against the accusation that he is a Greek spy. This he does eloquently and at length, explaining that the harm he has done to Persia was the result of his patriotism, that the talent he displayed is now at the king's service. It is absurd to think that the Greeks, if still favorable to him, would have sent him upon such a mission, for spies are not made from generals. Moreover, his conduct since reaching Persia shows the falsity of the charge. But he cares little to "traisner plus long-temps vne si triste vie." His only desire is to defend his honor. Xerces replies that he is sure of his innocence, bears him no malice for his former deeds against Persia, and is anxious to have him for a subject. He accordingly bids him remain at court, assuring him that, while others have attacked him, Mandane and Artabaze have ever been his friends.

The trial over, Mandane is expressing her indignation to Roxane, when Artabaze brings her the information that Xerces wishes to bind Themistocle to his interests by giving him the Princess Palmis in marriage. Both conspirators are infuriated at the thought, and Mandane is ready to take desperate measures:

"Ie sçauray luy monstrer que mon sang est à moy,
Que ie puis le verser par vn courage extresme
Renfermé dans ma fille aussi bien qu'en moy-mesme."

But between the third and fourth acts she makes a discovery that changes her plans completely. She reads letters from Cambise to Artabaze, showing that the former was in love with another woman at the time of his death and that Artabaze helped him to deceive her. Her wrath is therefore now directed against Artabaze, while she feels only gratitude to Themistocle for having slain Cambise. As she and her daughter consent to the marriage, for which Roxane has been unselfishly working, Artabaze would be left alone in opposition to it, were not a new and more formidable obstacle discovered. Xerces, when he promises Palmis to Themistocle, bids him prepare to lead an expedition against his ungrateful country and thus causes the fine moral struggle which gives the play its value.

Alone with Palmis, Themistocle talks to her of his love and the impossibility of his marrying her, if it means treachery to Greece. Palmis replies that Persia is now his country and that she loves him. Themistocle answers:

"Enfin si vous maymés, vous digne prix d'vn Roy,
Estouffez cette amour, ou bien cachés la moy,
De peur que ma vertu sans vigueur et sans armes
Ne se laisse corrompre à de si puissans charmes."

In the last act new influences are brought to bear upon him. Both Roxane and Mandane beg him to advance his own interests and overthrow Artabaze's machinations by obeying the king. Themistocle also considers the ingratitude of Greece and the kindness he has received in Persia.

"Nostre pays n'est pas, ou l'on m'oste l'honneur,
Il est ou nous trouuons la gloire et le bon-heur."

Finally Artabaze comes to tell him that these honors are merely offered as a bribe, and will not be given him after the war is over. He advises him to demand payment in advance. Themistocle sees through his wiles and maddens him by pretending to be about to accept the king's offer. In doing so, he delivers an interesting statement of cosmopolitanism:

"Cette amour du pays n'est qu'vne erreur vtile,
Qu'vne ruse d'estat necessaire aux estats
Puis que sans son secours ils ne fleuriroient pas.
Mais ce n'est pas ainsi qu'vn grand cœur se resserre,
Il ne se borne pas par vn morceau de terre,
Et comme il naist au monde ou ses faits sont ouys
Il croid que tout le monde est aussi son pays.
Ainsi toute la terre egallement cherie
A l'homme magnanime est une ample patrie."

To Artabaze's advice that he should demand immediate payment from the king for his future deeds, he replies in words that were probably imitated by La Rochefoucauld:[1]

"Mais il est bien plus noble et bien moins hazardeux
D'estre trompé des Roys, que se deffier d'eux."

When the two men separate, Themistocle reflects that by yielding to the king he can conquer Artabaze, while the latter hastens to bring against his rival the false accusation that he distrusts Xerces and wishes to marry Palmis before attacking Greece. The king, instead of taking this as an insult, agrees to the immediate celebration of the marriage. Themistocle, summoned by the king, is told that he will first marry Palmis and then lead the new expedition against Greece. He argues that the conquest of Greece is too small a return for the favors that he has received, and begs to be allowed to fight for the king against other enemies, adding that the king should owe the conquest of Greece to a Persian rather than a Greek. When Xerces, in spite of these arguments, insists upon his leading the expedition, Themistocle flatly refuses:

"Ie sçay qu'apres les biens ou vous m'auez porté
Ie dois tout iustement à vostre majesté;
Mais peut-on quelquefois en sa iuste furie
Promettre iustement le sang de sa patrie?"

To the king's warning that refusal will be punished with death he replies that he is ready to die, regretting his seeming ingratitude and hoping that all the king's criminal subjects may be like himself. Xerces is so delighted by "ce beau refus" that he pardons him, promises never to propose the expedition to him again, gives him Palmis for wife, and bids him continue to reside at the court.

[1] Maxim LXXXIV: "Il est plus honteux de se défier de ses amis que d'en être trompé."

From this analysis it is seen that Du Ryer has changed Diodorus's narrative by making Mandane the sister of Xerces instead of his cousin, by having her lover instead of her children killed at Salamis, by making her daughter, Palmis, the woman to whom Themistocle is married, by substituting a happy *dénouement* for the hero's suicide. The means by which Mandane becomes favorable to Themistocle, the charge of spying, the rivalry for the hand of Palmis, and all the rôle of Roxane are Du Ryer's additions. He is to be praised for the emphasis he lays on the struggle in the protagonist's mind, an eminently dramatic motif and one which, as will be shown, serves to unify the play.

The action takes place in a few hours of the day set for the trial. The scene is laid in one or two rooms of the royal palace. The exposition, made largely by a series of confidences to the same person, is neither natural nor interesting. Xerces ought to be shown early in the play, conferring with the enemies of Themistocle, in order that we may be convinced of their power. Mandane's first opposition to Artabaze and Roxane's love of Themistocle do not advance the action. There are two main plots, one concerned with the hero's marriage to Palmis, the other, and more important, with his command of the expedition against Greece. The two are united by the fact that the love of Themistocle for Palmis is one of the chief emotions opposed to his patriotism. What seem at first to be independent plots are connected with one or the other of these themes.

The play involves more than the safety and happiness of a single individual, for, had Themistocle accepted the king's offer, the conquest of Greece and the overthrow of Greek civilization might have followed. Patriotism was not a new theme on the French stage, but I know of no instance in which it is put to the test found here. Horace and Sceuole were simple souls, who risked their lives to save a grateful country. Even Curiace, with his larger humanity, was not ill-treated by his native town. Themistocle is introspective, subtle, and blasé, a person whose acquaintance with men and with countries has destroyed the freshness of early enthusiasms. He has been exiled by Greece, protected by Persia. He is in love with a Persian princess. By accepting the king's offer, he can find love, power, the joy of conquering his rivals at the Persian court and of punishing his enemies at home. His thorough understanding of these things and of cos-

mopolitan philosophy is shown in his last conversation with Artabaze. That patriotism alone against all these desires will triumph in the breast of even a thoroughly sophisticated person is the thesis which Du Ryer demonstrates. With this idea in mind, we can see that he is justified in introducing a number of scenes that show the craftiness of Artabaze and the fury of Mandane, for his hero's sophistication is illustrated in part by the character of the enemies he defeats.

The other characters are typical court figures, of less interest than Themistocle. Mandane is the personification of pride, as is Artabaze of ambition. The former is ready to murder or marry her daughter in order to avenge herself on the man who has humbled her; the latter stoops to any means in order to advance his interests. That neither of them is punished shows that Du Ryer has no longer a liking for melodrama. In Palmis he again represents a princess who hesitates to express her love on account of her lover's humble birth. In Roxane he has sought to give a picture of perfect self-sacrifice, but he has hardly succeeded in making her convincing. She recalls Corneille's Infante or Sabine, a person always ready to suffer, but incapable of accomplishing anything by her heroism. Xerces is a noble figure. We regret that, intelligent and magnanimous as he is, he appears so seldom in the play.

The *Mercure* of July 18, 1721, declares that *Themistocle* is closely imitated by Campistron in his *Alcibiade*, "non seulement pour la conduite totale, mais même pour quantité de Vers copiez tout de suite." The frères Parfaict[1] mention a reply made in defense of Campistron by a certain Gourdon de Bach de Toulouse,[2] who finds little merit in Du Ryer's play and praises Campistron's extravagantly, denying all but the slightest influence. Philipp[3] has shown, however, that Campistron was undoubtedly influenced by Du Ryer in the general plan of his work, in several situations and characters, and even verbally in more than one passage, though not to the extent indicated by the author of the article in the *Mercure*.

The frères Parfaict[4] and Mesnard[5] note the influence of this play upon a passage in *Andromaque*. Mandane in the fourth

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[1] *Histoire du théâtre françois*, VII, 98.
[2] Cf. *Bibliothèque françoise*, mai et juin, 1726, pp. 20–27.
[3] *Pierre Du Ryers Leben*, 88–97. [4] *Op. cit.*, VII, 105. [5] *Œuvres de J. Racine*, II, 118.

scene of the fourth act laments that Cambise has died by other hands than hers, and adds the wish

> "Que ma main acheuast, qu'il mourut à ma veuë
> Et qu'il sçeut en mourant que cest moy qui le tuë."

Similarly Oreste tells Hermione that he understands the vengeance she has desired:

> "Vous vouliez que ma main portât les premiers coups,
> Qu'il sentît en mourant qu'il expirait pour vous;"[1]

and Hermione says to Oreste:

> "Ma vengeance est perdue
> S'il ignore en mourant que c'est moi qui le tue."[2]

Du Ryer's play does not appear to have influenced the *Themistocle* of the père Foulard, published at Lyons in 1729, or the *Temistocle* of Morei, published at Rome in 1728. On the other hand, it undoubtedly influenced both Zeno[3] and Metastasio[4] in their plays of this name. Besides other resemblances,[5] both of these plays have the happy ending which is not found in the Greek and Latin authors who tell the story.[6]

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[1] V, 3. [2] IV, 4.

[3] Zeno's play was published at Venice in 1744.

[4] Metastasio's tragedy was first played in 1736.

[5] Both in plot, characters, and names the Italian plays are nearer Du Ryer's than they are to the ancient narratives. The situations of Zeno's play, II, 2, II, 4, and III, 2, are especially near those of Du Ryer's.

[6] In the argument to his play Zeno cites Cornelius Nepos to show the falsity of the tradition that his hero died by drinking bull's blood. Some of Metastasio's editors, reading the citation carelessly, attribute the whole argument to Nepos, and thus create the erroneous impression that the Roman historian is the source of these plays.

CHAPTER V.

LAST TRAGI-COMEDIES.

The plays discussed in this chapter are *Berenice*, published before *Sceuole*, and the last three plays that Du Ryer wrote, *Nitocris*, *Dynamis*, and *Anaxandre*. The four are called tragi-comedies because they are written on a less elevated plane than the tragedies, have fictitious plots without persons of distinct historical importance, treat of love as their chief emotion, do not exclude comic passages, end happily,[1] and are largely free from death or the danger of it.[2] At the same time they show the influence of tragedy in the observation of rules of unity and propriety and in the subordination of the plot to the study of character.[3] They thus combine characteristics of the author's early tragi-comedies with those of his tragedies to make a type that may be called classical tragi-comedy, a hybrid form, which sacrifices the variety of one model without gaining the strength and elevation of the other.

Berenice,[4] the first of these plays, is written in prose, a form which the author discusses in the following introduction:

"I'ay fait bien plus que ie ne pensois, puisque i'ay fait en Prose vne piece de Theatre, et qu'elle n'a pas esté desagreable. Car encore que i'ayme la Prose, et que ie l'esleue par dessus les Vers autant que les choses vtiles doiuent l'emporter par dessus les delectables, ie n'ay pourtant iamais crû qu'elle pût paroistre sur le Theatre auec les mesmes effets et la mesme magnificence que les Vers. Si i'ay tousiours estimé que c'est vn jeu de hasard que de faire des Comedies, ie suis particulierement de cette opinion pour ce qui concerne les pieces en Prose. Et certes nous en voyons peu qui en ayent fait deux auec le mesme succez, et à qui l'euenement de la seconde n'ait osté une partie

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[1] This fact, taken alone, would not distinguish them from half of the author's tragedies.

[2] The only persons in them who die are the two villains of *Dynamis*.

[3] This is not altogether true of *Dynamis*, which, with *Clarigene*, stands between the early tragi-comedies and the other three treated in this chapter.

[4] Paris, 1645, "auec priuilege." The dates of this privilege and of the *achevé d'imprimer* are not given.

de la reputation de la premiere. Quoy qu'il en soit, c'est vne course que ie ne voudrois pas deux fois entreprendre; et i'ayme mieux me reposer au bout le la carriere auec vn peu de gloire que de la recommencer auec hasard."

This philistine doctrine of the superiority of the useful over the delectable may be given by Du Ryer in vindication of the excessive amount of translation that he had begun before 1645.[1] His use of prose in this play is probably due, not only to the example of his translations, but to the small amount of time these left him for composition in verse. Whatever the cause of his experiment, he doubted its wisdom and kept his promise not to repeat it. As he intimates, he was not the first person who had tried prose, for full-length comedies and tragi-comedies in prose can be found as early as the sixteenth century, while Du Ryer's contemporary, Puget de la Serre, had already written five prose tragedies,[2] and Scudéry's prose tragi-comedy, *Axiane*, had been published in 1644.

The source of *Berenice* is unknown. The play has nothing to do with the historical Berenices, with Racine's tragedy, or with the romance of the same name by Segrais. It shows some resemblance to the story of Sesostris and Timarette, told in the sixth volume of the *Grand Cyrus* and subsequently dramatized by Thomas Corneille in his *Berenice*.[3] As Du Ryer's play was written before the *Grand Cyrus*, it can not have been influenced by it, nor does a comparison of the two works indicate that Mlle de Scudéry took her plot from Du Ryer. It is possible that there is a common source, at present unidentified. Thomas Corneille may have taken from Du Ryer the name of his heroine and some suggestions for her character, the only respects in which he is nearer to Du Ryer than he is to Mlle de Scudéry.[4]

[1] The year in which the play was published. It was probably represented for the first time a year or two before.

[2] *Pandoste*, 1631; *Le Pyrame*, 1633; *Thomas Morus*, 1642; *Le Sac de Carthage*, 1643; *Sainte Caterine*, 1643. [3] Cf. Philipp, *Pierre Du Ryers Leben*, p. 87.

[4] The three accounts have in common the substitution of infants, the bringing up of the princess in ignorance of her royal birth, the proof of her identity through a letter written by her dying mother: but in Scudéry and Corneille there are two independent substitutions to Du Ryer's one, two foster fathers to one, a rival noble, a rival princess, and several confidantes whom Du Ryer omits; the obstacles in the lovers' way are furnished by difference in rank and the intrigues of an ambitious noble man, instead of supposedly incestuous love and the rivalry of father and son. Thomas Corneille's plot depends on chance events, a shipwreck, an *enlèvement*, a conspiracy, the convenient return of a foster-father, the remarkable discovery of a lost note, while Du Ryer's play is simple, united, more dependent on character than events.

The plot is based on a father's substitution of infants. The king of Crete, many years before the time represented in the play, had sent his pregnant queen to Sicily for safety while he was engaged in war. Dwelling there at the house of Criton, a nobleman, she had given birth to a daughter a few days before her host's wife brought forth a son. As the queen soon died and as Criton knew that a son was much desired by the king, he sent to Crete his own infant, Tarsis, while he kept Berenice, the king's daughter, and brought her up as his own child. When the children were grown, Criton, persecuted by the Sicilian ruler, took refuge, in his turn, at the court of the king of Crete, now at peace, who received him most cordially with his supposed daughter, Berenice, and his real daughter, Amasie.

Du Ryer does not inform us of these romantic facts till the end of the play. They are necessary to the *dénouement* and to the initial idea of the play, but they are not otherwise used. The interest is sustained almost purely by the study of the characters and the series of emotional states through which they pass. The play begins after Criton has dwelt five years in Crete. The scene is laid in two buildings on this island: one, the royal palace; the other, the house inhabited by Criton and his daughters, which has a garden on one side of it. Berenice and Tarsis have fallen in love with each other; Amasie and a courtier, Tirinte, have done the same. This situation is made known to us during the first act by a conversation between the sisters, in which Berenice reproaches Amasie for stooping to a man of lower position than theirs, while she defends her own conduct by the argument that kings and gods may love those in a rank beneath them. Towards the end of the act their difficulties begin with their father's telling them that for some hidden reason they must leave the country. Tarsis, informed of the projected departure, assures Berenice that he will prevent it by appealing to the king.

But it is soon discovered that the king, far from helping his son in his love for Berenice, is the chief obstacle to their union, for he loves her himself and has already sent Tirinte to ask for her in marriage. He is now indignant at learning that Criton refuses his consent to this alliance and discusses with Tirinte what reason he can have for so doing. Before Criton comes to explain his refusal, Tarsis requests that he be prevented from leaving

Crete. He tells his father of his love for Berenice and begs that he be allowed to marry her. The king is surprised to find that his son is his rival, but he conceals his own sentiments, answers Tarsis evasively concerning the marriage, and assures him of his desire to keep Criton and Berenice from going away. Left alone with Tirinte, the king tells him that he now understands that it is Criton's hope of marrying Berenice to the prince that makes him reject his suit, but that he will wed the girl in spite of him. Tarsis may marry Amasie in compensation for the loss of Berenice. This last plan tends to connect the subordinate plot with the main plot, for Tirinte's love of Amasie now conflicts with his duty as agent in the king's love affair. The second act ends with Tirinte's telling Amasie his distress over the king's plan to marry her to his son.

In the third act a letter from Tarsis to Berenice, informing her of his father's ordering him to depart on the morrow for Cyprus, is found by Criton in the hands of Amasie, who is accordingly suspected of being the object of the prince's affections. In order to shield her sister, Amasie lets her father think that Tarsis is her lover, while Berenice continues the deception, as, by so doing, she can see Tarsis freely, ostensibly in order to urge him to give up Amasie. When she sees her lover, he tells her that his father's rivalry is the cause of his leaving Crete. Berenice begs him to give her up, for she is unwilling to separate father and son, but at the same time she promises to remain faithful to him while he is away.

Tirinte begins the fourth act by bringing to Amasie the king's proposal to marry her to Tarsis. He asks her whether he must make the proposition to her father and thus sacrifice his own love for her. She replies by assuring him of her love and bidding him do as he thinks best, whereupon his sense of duty to the king prevails. He is about to go to find Criton, when Tarsis comes with the news that the king has allowed him to postpone his voyage in consequence of his pretending to give up Berenice for Amasie. This confidence precipitates a discussion between the two friends, in which Tarsis begs Tirinte not to deliver the king's message to Criton, while Tirinte warns the prince against feigning love for Amasie. They are interrupted by Berenice, who informs them that her father has determined to return to Sicily. Finally Criton makes the terrible disclosure that Tarsis is his son:

"Criton: Elle est de mesme condition que vous.
Tarsis: Pourquoy donc ne puis-je l'aimer?
Criton: Parce qu'elle est vostre sœur, et que sa mere estoit vostre mere. Cela vous estonne. Ie n'en doute point.
Tarsis: Et Criton seroit mon pere. Et Berenice seroit ma sœur!"

Of course the audience does not know that Berenice is really the daughter of the king, while Criton, who does know this, has been deceived by the letter into believing that it is Amasie whom Tarsis loves. A letter discovered by chance and the fact that in the interview with his son Criton spoke of his daughter without mentioning her name are thus the weak supports to an interesting situation, treated in masterly fashion. In *Argenis* and *Cleomedon* Du Ryer had used the discovery of relationship as a convenient means of ridding the hero of a formidable rival. Arcombrotte and Celiante had each given up the love he had borne his sister as soon as he learned who she was. This is absurd. Either the audience has been deceived as to the strength of the passion the men felt before the discovery, or this passion must continue, mingled with horror at the thought of its unlawful nature. Here there is an opportunity for a study of passion that Du Ryer had previously neglected and which he now grasps. By the introduction of the letter he so arranges his play that Criton's mistake as to which daughter his son loves leads to his disclosing only half the truth and leaving Tarsis with the knowledge that he is Criton's son, but without the information that Berenice is the king's daughter. Thus for several scenes we have an intensely dramatic struggle in the souls of the lovers.

Two monologues, a dialogue between the sisters, and another between the lovers themselves, show us this struggle. Finally Tarsis begs Berenice to marry the king and take the throne to which he no longer has a right, but she refuses to deprive him of it and bids him farewell. The king enters, impatiently awaiting Criton's decision. When all the characters are present, Criton explains who Tarsis and Berenice really are. He had feared to make this disclosure sooner, lest his son should lose his royal position and he should himself be punished for his misrepresentations. His testimony is supported by a letter, left by the dying queen, which states that her child was a girl. The king recognizes the writing and accepts Criton's testimony. To our surprise, he not only acknowledges Berenice as his daughter, but

marries her to Tarsis and pardons Criton, whom he even thanks for having provided him with so noble a warrior as his son.[1]

The structure of the play shows a unity absent from the author's earlier tragi-comedies. The time of the action can not be established with absolute certainty, but it appears to cover only a few hours. The place has the unity of the two houses. The action is simple and intense. Its unity is slightly violated by a subordinate plot, concerned with the love of Tirinte and Amasie, which is connected with the main plot by the king's threat to marry Tarsis to Amasie, but which has no effect upon it. It serves to characterize these subordinate lovers and to lift them out of the commonplace rôles of messenger and confidant which they would otherwise have filled.

The *dénouement* is the result of what has gone before, for Criton, the only person who knows the facts necessary to the solution of the problem, would not compromise himself by revealing the true situation unless forced to do so by the events of the play. Here Du Ryer shows greater ability than he had done in *Clarigene*, where the discovery of the needed facts is due to the chance return of a lost son and daughter.

From this point of view, *Berenice* is a tragi-comedy of character in which the action depends on Criton, who is willing to deceive grossly until he sees that incest will be the result of his deception, and on the king, who must, in order to bring about the *dénouement*, be as magnanimous in the end as he was at first self-seeking. But Du Ryer fails to develop these two essential personalities. Instead of emphasizing their rôles so that the clash of their characters would fill the play, he introduces Criton into only five scenes, the king into only four. They are not brought face to face till the last act. We are not shown the struggle in the soul of Criton, who remains for us an enigmatic character until his confession to Tarsis. We are not shown the meeting between the king and his son, in which the latter is told that his father is his rival. Such scenes as these would have

[1] M. Gustave Reynier in his *Thomas Corneille, sa vie et son théâtre*, Paris, 1892, p. 127, declares that "Du Ryer avait fait jouer en 1635 [*sic*] une *Berenice* en prose, qui n'eut guère de succès et dont la lecture est fort rebutante." The error in the date, which also occurs on page 117, the unfounded statement about the play's success, and especially the absurdity of the last clause make me believe that M. Reynier has not read the play himself, but is relying upon some untrustworthy eighteenth- or nineteenth-century history of the French theater.

explained these persons and brought them more prominently before us. As it is, we do not understand how the king substitutes for his incestuous passion an intelligent spirit of pardon and affection; while no proper emphasis is laid on the fact that Criton's deception of the king is due to personal ambition rather than to love of his son. He is stern with his daughters, cruelly direct in his revelations, a crafty, unlovely old man, yet I doubt if the hardness of his character is sufficiently evident in a representation of the play. It should be made clearer that he is eaten up with ambition. We ought to see the struggles through which he passes before he brings himself to confess the truth.

The characterization of the lovers is more admirable. The two sisters, neither of them a stranger to the seventeenth-century salon, contrast effectively with each other. Berenice, who has inherited an aristocratic view of social adjustments, accepts as her right her sister's sacrifice and reproaches her for loving a man beneath her in rank. She is a Cornelian heroine, to whom love means the aspiration towards what is in all respects noble and whose passion must be given up if its gratification is not in accordance with her own honor or the welfare of her lover. On the other hand, Amasie resembles the heroine of *Clarigene*. Her love takes no thought of her own "gloire" or her lover's rank. She is more resourceful, more playful, wiser, and more considerate than her intense sister, for whom she is ready to efface her own chance of happiness. Few of Du Ryer's subordinate rôles are so clearly delineated.

Tarsis is too much the courtier for his reputation as a warrior. He is deceived by his father and unable to avoid banishment except by pretending to surrender Berenice. He lacks fortitude and is ineffectual in his devices, but we appreciate his genuine passion, which is too strong to be obliterated by the report that Berenice is his sister. Tirinte is of less importance. His rôle, normally that of the king's confidant and messenger, is given interest by his love for Amasie.

While the tone of the play does not reach the elevation of the tragedy, there is little of the comedy, either in humor or study of manners. A few evidences of *préciosité*, a tendency to state general truths, an acceptance of monarchical principles, are the nearest approach to a representation of contemporary French manners, which, of course, were probably not those of the island

of Crete at this undetermined moment in its history. There is no laughter in the play, only an attempt at pleasantry when Amasie teases her sister at the beginning of the third act. The use of prose does not injure the value of the work, as Du Ryer writes here with a simple directness often absent from his verse. Affectation is not altogether avoided, however, for Tarsis in the midst of his sorrow exclaims, "C'est ma sœur, ce fut mon amante, ie l'ay perduë sans que ie la perde, et ie la gaigne sans la gaigner."[1] There is a noteworthy sententiousness in the debates between the sisters and particularly in a maxim worthy of La Rochefoucauld, "On peut aller facilement de l'amitié à l'amour, mais il n'est pas si facile d'aller de l'amour à l'amitié."[1]

The privilege for the next tragi-comedy, *Nitocris Reyne de Babylone*, is dated November 10, 1649; the *achevé d'imprimer*, January 28, 1650. There is neither dedication nor foreword. Nothing is known of the play's success, except that it was republished the same year at Leyden by the Elzevirs. Herodotus[2] mentions a Nitocris, Queen of Babylon, who had certain relations with the Medes, and Du Ryer, who had published his translation of the historian about five years earlier, undoubtedly derived from this source the name and, perhaps, some aspects of his heroine's character, as well as the suggestion of dealings between her and the Medes. But this is all. The plot and other characters than the queen do not come from Herodotus. His recently written *Themistocle* may have suggested the Oriental subject. A few scenes and the *dénouement*, brought about by the ruler's magnanimity, point to the influence of *Cinna*. The main source of the play, however, is unknown.

Nitocris, absolute ruler of Babylon, has decided to choose a husband. She hesitates between Cleodate, a famous and virtuous warrior of humble birth, with whom she is in love, and Araxe, a man of royal blood, but ambitious and formerly disloyal, for whom she cares nothing. Her problem is that which appeared in *Alcionée*, *Berenice*, *Themistocle*, the choice between high birth and native excellence. A third course, to remain unmarried, is also open to her. Cleodate, ignorant of the queen's sentiments toward him, cherishes a secret passion for Axiane, Princess of Media, who dwells at the court of Nitocris. Araxe, on the other hand, is

[1] V, 2. [2] I, 185–187.

using every means in his power to persuade Nitocris to marry him, extending his machinations until they involve treachery to his friend, Cleodate, and to Alcine, Princess of Assyria, who is in love with him.

These interests are shown us in the first two acts. Araxe is meditating how he can overthrow Cleodate, when the latter comes to tell him that he has asked Nitocris to let him leave the court, for he knows that his low birth and the fact that the queen wishes Axiane to remain unmarried make his love for this princess hopeless. He wishes that Araxe would urge Nitocris to allow him to leave, and Araxe with feigned reluctance agrees. But Nitocris, who does not know of Cleodate's love, now refuses to allow him to depart. The act ends with Axiane's confession to Alcine of her nascent love for Cleodate.

Nitocris, after struggling to conquer her passion for Cleodate, takes counsel of the two princesses, each of whom advises her to wed the other's lover, Axiane reminding her of Cleodate's low birth and the importance of giving the people a king who has a long line of ancestors, Alcine replying that Araxe has once rebelled, while Cleodate has always been faithful to the queen. Before Nitocris makes a final decision, Cleodate is told that she consents to his leaving the court. He then tells Axiane that the true reason for his departure is his love for her. She assures him that she also loves him and would make him a king if she had a throne to share with him, but, as she has none, she wishes, instead, to marry him to Nitocris.

The queen now calls upon Araxe and Cleodate to advise her whom she should marry. The former avoids a definite answer by assuring her that he will accept as king the subject she honors with her hand, while Cleodate urges her to marry no one, but to continue to use the courtship of neighboring monarchs as a means of keeping them at peace with her. Nitocris thanks them for their advice and leaves them after bidding Cleodate remain at court. This third act ends with an important scene in which Araxe tries to bribe his rival by promising him Axiane in marriage, together with the throne of Media, if he will first persuade Nitocris to marry him, a proposition which Cleodate indignantly rejects.

Araxe, now knowing that he has nothing to gain by an alliance with his rival, sees that his only hope of success lies in destroying him. Accordingly, when the queen tells him she has decided to

marry Cleodate, he craftily replies that she has made a noble choice, "si pourtant son esprit peut souffrir vostre chois." He goes on to accuse Cleodate of loving Axiane and of plotting to give the throne of Babylon to the king of Media, in order that he may inherit it later as husband of Axiane. The queen sees through the falsity of the second accusation, but she is deeply moved by the first. She has Araxe arrested for slandering Cleodate, despite Alcine's protestations, and summons Cleodate before her. When he arrives, she urges him to tell her the truth:

"Nitocris: Aymes-tu? réponds-moy.
Cleodate: Si i'ayme!
Nitocris: Responds-moy,
Lors qu'on hesite ainsi, l'on veut manquer de foy.
Cleodate: Plutost le iuste Ciel me punisse en profane.
Nitocris: Mais enfin aimes-tu la Princesse Axiane?
Cleodate: Oüy, Madame, ie l'ayme."

Nitocris rebukes, but pardons him, bids him continue to love the princess and, when he has left her, soliloquizes concerning the powerlessness of monarchs. The act ends with the announcement that the king of the Medes is dead.

The accusations against Cleodate now include the charge that he has been responsible for this king's death. Nitocris wavers in her good opinion of him, but it is only momentarily, for she summons Araxe and gets from him a confession of the falsity of his accusation. He excuses himself by saying that his crime is due to jealousy and makes a last vain effort to win the queen's hand. Nitocris now resolves, like Auguste, to show her greatness by conquering her feelings. She will continue to rule alone, will pardon Araxe, and rise above her love of Cleodate and her jealousy of Axiane. She accordingly marries Cleodate to this princess, who succeeds with him to the throne of Media, gives Alcine to Araxe, and consoles herself for her sacrifice with the reflection that she will remain a proof to posterity of how the will can conquer love.

The play is thoroughly classic in structure. The only formal indication of the location is the statement that the scene is laid at Babylon, but it is evident that everything occurs in one palace, probably in only one room. The time is not necessarily more than a few hours. The action is a model of unity. On Nitocris, the central figure, depend her own sacrifice and the marriages of

Cleodate and Araxe. Even Cleodate's declaration of love to Axiane is the result of her first permission to him to leave her court. The death of the king of Media merely serves to increase the happiness at the end of the play and has no effect upon the *dénouement*, which is brought about entirely by the magnanimity of the queen. Her action is the result of her character and the knowledge of Cleodate's love for Axiane. Thus the persons and circumstances presented at the beginning of the play produce logically the *dénouement*.

The manners described are, of course, those of a seventeenth-century French court, not those of Babylon or any other part of the Orient. The similarity to *Cinna* is obvious, for the central theme is the clemency of an absolute monarch. Nitocris's triumph is as difficult for a woman as is Auguste's for a man. She forgives her subject for preferring another princess, as Auguste forgives his subjects for plotting his death. In both cases the chief cause of the action is desire to do the noble deed. In both cases, too, the minds of the protagonists are not made up at the beginning and the changes through which they pass make the plays dramatic. Like Auguste, Nitocris takes counsel of those personally affected by her decision.

Cleodate and Araxe are sharply contrasted in character and interests. The former is the less interesting. As the lover of one princess and the faithful subject of another, his rôle might have portrayed a struggle, but, as his fate rests entirely with Nitocris, he seems little more than a puppet whom she chooses to make happy at the end of the play. Araxe, on the other hand, is the incarnation of ambition. Having failed to win the throne by rebellion, he seeks it through marriage with the queen, for which purpose he deliberately endeavors to destroy his friend Cleodate, whom he fears as a formidable rival, and to make a tool of Alcine, whom he still professes to love:

> "C'est foiblesse d'esprit, c'est estre mal-habile,
> D'espargner vn amy quand sa perte est vtile."[1]

His character is gradually unfolded after this statement of principle. He first seeks to injure his friend by advising the queen in accordance with Cleodate's own desires, then endeavors to bribe him, then betrays him. At the same time he is trying to use

[1] I, 1.

Alcine's love for his own advancement and her misfortune. When all his means prove abortive and he has himself been arrested, he strives to make out of the confession of his crimes a strong appeal to the queen's favor. This confession is difficult to understand unless we perceive that he is putting all his chances into a single throw, that in confession lies his only means of winning the throne. When he accepts Alcine as his wife, it is only because there is no longer any hope of winning Nitocris. He shows no evidence of repentance.

The two princesses are types from the aristocratic society of Du Ryer's contemporaries. They analyze passion, discuss their own sentiments, argue ably before the queen while concealing their real motives. Axiane, unlike Nitocris, feels no hesitation at loving a man beneath her in rank. Her rôle is carelessly treated, inasmuch as at the end of the second act she urges the queen to marry Araxe, while in the second scene of the third act she advises Cleodate to wed the queen. This hero's confession of love for her can scarcely be the cause of this change. Alcine is more consistent. She understands Araxe perfectly, but she defends him, continues to love him, and finally rescues him from the queen. The two other characters, Atis and Achate, serve in the colorless rôles of confidant and messenger. The high birth of most of the persons may be noted. Indeed the atmosphere of the play represents on all sides the conventional notion of an absolute monarch's court, its virtues as well as its vices, for magnanimity and loyalty flourish in it alongside of flattery, deception, and place-seeking.

Dynamis, the next tragi-comedy,[1] resembles *Nitocris* in its chief theme, the marriage of an Oriental queen, in which are concerned a falsely accused hero and a treacherous aspirant to the throne, but the careless motivation of the characters, the structural looseness, and the use of melodramatic incidents recall the author's early plays. Suggestions for the plot and persons are found in Dion Cassius, LIV, 24, where it is told briefly how the adventurer, Scribonius, fraudulently made himself King of Bosporus Cimmerius, married Dynamis, widow of the late king, was attacked by Polemon, King of Cappadocian Pontus and ally of the Romans, was put to death by his subjects, and was succeeded on the throne by this rival, who became the third husband

[1] Privilege, August 26, 1650; *achevé d'imprimer*, December 28, 1652.

of the queen. Du Ryer has avoided inconvenient names by substituting for these two countries other provinces of Asia Minor, Carie and Lycie, a change which makes him lay his scene at Halycarnasse, capital of the former country. Scribonius is changed to Arcas, *prince de Carie*, an unsuccessful aspirant to Dynamis's throne and hand. Polemon becomes Poliante, *roy de Lycie*, and keeps his rôle of defender and last husband to the queen. Two important characters and a number of incidents are added.

Before the play begins, the king has died in battle under suspicious circumstances. Arcas, who is commonly thought to have murdered him, seeks to marry the queen and finds help from Trasile, her bastard brother, who hopes that his sister will become unpopular by this marriage and be thus forced to abdicate in his favor. Trasile is encouraged to scheme for the throne by Proxene, a princess who wishes to become queen by marrying him, but his plans are constantly thwarted either by the blunders of his associates or his own lack of courage. When Dynamis vigorously reproaches him for helping Arcas, he defends himself weakly, then begs her forgiveness. He urges her not to marry Poliante, whom she loves, and is told that her intention is to remain unmarried.

After a useless scene at the beginning of the second act, in which Dynamis tells Poliante that he must leave her court in order that he may not be injured by his secret enemies there, word is brought that Arcas is coming with an army to force the queen to marry him. At the same time Poliante is informed that his own subjects are revolting. Dynamis insists upon Poliante's defending his own land, but he refuses, for he must stay to protect her. She threatens to stop loving him; he replies that his love will be the nobler if he is hated. Their debate is brought to a close by the queen's deciding upon the romantic plan of abdicating in her brother's favor in order that her love may no longer interfere with Poliante's duty to his land. Poliante immediately offers his throne and heart to Dynamis and, in addition, his sister in marriage to Trasile. The latter, who has accepted his sister's throne with feigned reluctance, now consents to this matrimonial arrangement as well, to the disgust of Proxene, who will have her revenge for being thus abandoned.

Fortunately Dynamis has lost no time in planning her sentimental abdication, for the news comes at the beginning of the

third act that Poliante's rebellious subjects are conquered, so that her generosity is now unnecessary. She begins to hesitate about actually surrendering her throne and soon informs her brother that she will continue to rule, at least till after the defeat of Arcas. Trasile pretends to desire this, but secretly believes that Dynamis's lack of good faith justifies his efforts to dethrone her. Trasile is reckoning, however, without Proxene, who threatens to betray his plans:

> "Allez, allez, ingrat, iouyssez de vos crimes,
> N'ayez iamais de biens ny d'honneurs legitimes
> Mais sçachez qu'vn meschant ne doit pas outrager
> Quiconque sçait son crime et qui peut se vanger."

Proxene goes to find the queen, leaving Trasile to reflect that he must strike at once, but, before he can take any steps, Dynamis enters with the surprising intelligence that a certain Euristene, an old retainer, has accused Poliante of the late king's murder. After the battle he was lying in a wood, unconscious from his wounds, when he was roused by a shout and saw Poliante draw a dagger from the body of the dying king. He has been prevented from testifying sooner by his absence among the enemy, whence he has just returned. He hopes that his evidence may free Arcas from the charges made against him. Dynamis resolves to consult the "Grands de l'Estat." She now has two criminal cases to investigate, for she has been informed by Proxene of Trasile's plot against her. The "Deputez" of the nobility urge her to discredit the charges against Poliante and to take him for husband. Trasile assumes indignation at the nobles for presuming to advise the queen, but he approves of this marriage himself, apparently hoping to involve his sister in the charge against Poliante. Perceiving that he is again advising her treacherously, and acting on the revelations made by Proxene, she has her brother arrested and then proceeds to interview Poliante. The latter explains his innocence. He had found the king lying in a pool of blood with a dagger in his wound and was pulling the dagger out when Euristene saw him. As Dynamis refuses to accept this statement without further evidence, her lover declares that he will bring Arcas to corroborate it.

The events of the fifth act pass rapidly. We hear that Trasile has escaped from the city to the camp of Arcas and that Poliante has gone off with his army, perhaps in flight, perhaps to join the

enemy. While Dynamis and her attendants are discussing these events, Poliante returns to announce that he has defeated Arcas's army and that its leader and Trasile, having wounded each other, are being brought dying to the city. Dynamis explains that she brought about the quarrel between her two enemies by making known to Arcas Trasile's plans for betraying him. Arcas confesses that he killed the king and left the dagger in the wound, then plotted with Trasile to get control of the kingdom. He expresses sorrow for his crime and wishes happiness to Dynamis and Poliante. Trasile, on the other hand, curses his sister and remains unrepentant till just before his death. They die behind the scenes, whither the queen has had them removed. "Ie profite en sa mort," is her comment upon her brother's death. The play ends with her final acceptance of Poliante.

The structure is classic in time and place, requiring one room of the royal palace and one somewhat crowded day, but the unity of action is freely violated. There are two threads, one concerned with the queen's marriage, the other with her retaining the throne. Neither depends on the other, for the story of Trasile's treachery could exist without Poliante and the account of Poliante's vindication and marriage does not require the presence of Trasile. Furthermore, events occur without proper preparation or important result, as, for instance, Poliante's offer of his sister to Trasile and Dynamis's proposal to abdicate in her brother's favor, the queen's vague fear of Poliante's secret enemies, and the war in the latter's country. The introduction of the deputies is superfluous. The *dénouement* is due to chance as much as to the deeds of the leading persons. In short, the play depends for its movement upon external acts rather than upon the characters. Where the persons accomplish results, their motives are often insufficient. In place of a careful study of the characters, Du Ryer substitutes accounts of a mysterious murder, romantic abdications, and the strange death of the villains. The play shows a curious return to his early methods, in spite of its classical proprieties.

The structural weakness is not greatly relieved by the treatment of character. Dynamis is evidently intended to form with Poliante the couple with whom we should sympathize and whose final happiness helps to make this a tragi-comedy, yet she is made, not only violent, strong, courageous, but false to her promise to Trasile, brutally indifferent to his death, criminally suspicious of

Poliante. She acts towards her brother and the deputies with intelligence, but she wishes to send away Poliante, whom she loves, with scarcely any other reason than to supply Du Ryer with a sentimental scene of parting. She is so blind to her duty as queen that she agrees to abdicate for the sake of her lover, yet she believes this lover a murderer as soon as he is accused of the crime. Poliante possesses the virtues of warrior, courtier, and lover, and is ready to sacrifice both his country and himself to Dynamis. Proxene promised to be an interesting union of Emilie and Hermione, but her rôle is unfortunately cramped into a few scenes. She should have had another interview with her lover before deciding to betray him, and the scene in which she accused him to the queen should be represented. Trasile has the most dramatic character of the play, marked by a strong desire to rule, which comes from his royal descent, and a fear of those around him, which seems the product of his illegitimacy and the social reprobation it has cost him. He plots to win his sister's throne and deserts his allies when a surer prize is offered him, trembles before the sister he threatens in secret, and fears to insist upon her keeping her promise to him. It is unfortunate that he and Proxene are not the chief figures in the play instead of the inconsistent Dynamis and her conventional lover. The remaining characters are insignificant. It need be noted only that the introduction of the deputies and the dying villains suggests a return to the spectacular characteristics of the early tragi-comedies.

As Pellisson stated in 1653[1] that Du Ryer was then finishing his nineteenth play, called *Anaxandre*, this is probably the date of that tragi-comedy's first representation. It was published at Paris in 1655,[2] at Amsterdam in 1658. The source has not been established with absolute certainty, but resemblances with *Cleomedon* make it probable that Du Ryer is here reworking the theme he took from the *Astrée*.[3] The king and his two daughters, the captured prince, the prince to whom the king's daughter is promised as a reward for his achievements and who learns that she is to be taken from him and given to the prince he has

[1] *Histoire de l'Academie Françoise*, p. 556. This work has its privilege dated November 14, 1652, but it was not printed till 1653. As it names among Du Ryer's published works his Livy, whose *achevé d'imprimer* is dated February 20, 1653, it is probable that his article on Du Ryer was written after this date.

[2] Privilege, January 22; *achevé d'imprimer*, March 23. [3] Part v, book 10.

taken prisoner, and the final double marriage are found in the *Astrée* and in both of Du Ryer's plays. In the *Astrée* and *Anaxandre* the older daughter is named Cephise and there is a rivalry between the two sisters, which ends in the victory of the younger. The following quatrains resemble each other closely:

> "I'ay fait vn Roy captif, i'en attends de la gloire,
> Il iouyt cependant du prix de ma victoire;
> Et par l'iniuste effet d'vne ingrate rigueur,
> La gloire est au vaincu, la honte est au vainqueur;"[1]

> "I'ay vaincu, i'ay defait, et i'ay pris Anaxandre,
> Mais il m'oste le prix que i'en deuois attendre,
> Et par vostre dedain qui me perce le cœur,
> Le vaincu satisfait se vange du vainqueur."[2]

On the other hand, in *Anaxandre* it is the captive prince who plays the chief rôle and is loved by the two sisters, while in the *Astrée* and *Cleomedon* the subject prince is the more important person. In the new play the daughter changes her mind, not the king. More important is the omission from *Anaxandre* of improbable and complex elements found in *Cleomedon*. Du Ryer leaves out the account of the lost prince, sold as a slave, who rescued the king from a lion and was finally recognized by a birth-mark, the scenes dealing with the war, the hero's madness, and the reconciliation between the king and his wife. Stripped of picturesque and marvellous elements, the play is devoted to the study of character, but the method has become so vague and abstract that it is doubtful whether this tragi-comedy was as successful as its irregular predecessor.

Prince Anaxandre, taken prisoner by Alphenor, another prince, is now the captive of the latter's sovereign, known in the play as "Le Roy." This king intends to marry his older daughter, Cephise, to Alphenor, who loves her and whom she seems to love; his younger daughter, Alcione, he has directed to pretend love for Anaxandre in order that peace may be established between the countries. When the play begins, both maidens have fallen in love with Anaxandre, who loves the younger sister. In the first act Cephise reject's Alphenor's suit, learns from her father that Anaxandre loves her sister, and plots to win the captive's heart for herself.

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[1] *Cleomedon*, III, 3. [2] *Anaxandre*, I, 1.

Anaxandre is introduced at the beginning of the second act, waiting "en cette promenade" for his daily visitor, the Princess Alcione. When she comes, he asks for freedom in order that his love may be the only chain to keep him near her, but she tells him that she can not allow her love to lessen her "gloire" by his release. She is succeeded by Alphenor, who asks whether Anaxandre loves Cephise and receives the ambiguous reply that he loves the woman who loves him. Believing this to be Cephise, Alphenor seeks no further explanation. Asterie, a confidante, informs Anaxandre that Cephise loves him and will liberate him if he promises to love her. After some hesitation he bids her tell Cephise that "pour ce grand bien . . . C'est trop peu de l'aymer qu'il faut que ie l'adore." He tells his confidant that he will go no further than this in promising what he can not fulfill, but he is wavering when Prodote brings word that the king has put him on parole, an action that makes it impossible for Cephise to tempt him further.

This courtier, Prodote, with Asterie's help, makes Cephise believe that Anaxandre loves her, then seeks to convince the king of the same thing, pretending that the prince's love for Alcione is feigned. But the sovereign, unmoved by this information, promises Cephise to Alphenor and bids her prepare to marry him. She can obtain from her father only the postponement of this marriage till the end of the war. In an interesting interview between the sisters each of them tries to get from the other a confession of love for Anaxandre. When the latter joins them, a comic situation is produced by their love-making and his efforts to satisfy both by gallant subtleties. Finally Alcione is called away and Cephise insists upon knowing which of them he loves. Anaxandre, after explaining that love is a matter of destiny, beyond the lover's control, admits that he loves Alcione. Cephise expresses her indignation at his thinking that she is jealous of her sister and, when alone with her confidante, hopes that her own love for Anaxandre may be turned into hatred. At this moment a new turn is given to the plot by the news that Anaxandre's father has proposed to end the war by marrying his son to Cephise and that Alphenor is planning to rebel if the proposition is accepted.

Alcione advises her lover to do his father's bidding, accept her sister, and bring peace to the two countries, but he refuses to obey

her or to believe Prodote's insinuations that she does not love him. Presently Cephise comes to his aid by deciding to accept Alphenor. After telling the latter that she is too ambitious to marry him, she is suddenly illumined by "vn rayon d'vne clairté Celeste," which convinces her that marrying Alphenor is the best way to prove to Anaxandre that she has ceased to love him. She accordingly explains that Anaxandre's refusal to marry her was caused by his love for her sister and thus prevents the king from breaking off negotiations with the prince's father. Prodote confesses his misrepresentations. Anaxandre begs for the hand of Alcione, declaring that his father has sent him permission to marry either princess. The king accordingly marries him to Alcione and Alphenor to Cephise, thus establishing peace between the countries and removing the danger of civil war.

The scene is laid in the royal palace of a nameless country. A "promenade" is represented, probably in the court-yard of the building, and at least one room, where the king takes counsel. The time is as vague as the place, but it does not seem to cover more than a single day. The only violation of the unity of action lies in the new motif introduced at the end of the fourth act, when Anaxandre's father directs him to marry Cephise. This incident serves to bring out more sharply the importance of Cephise's rôle, for, without it, she would merely be obeying her father in giving up Anaxandre. It is unfortunate that the command of the foreign king did not come earlier in the play and that it is not changed by some other means than the arrival of ambassadors.

The principal figure is Cephise, who represents the conflict of love and pride. Unlike most of the strong-willed classic heroines, she is not influenced by any feeling of duty and does not scruple to deceive sister, father, and lover, to release a state prisoner, and to plunge her country into war, if by so doing she can win the man she loves. She is shown in a large number of situations, plotting to win Anaxandre, rejoicing over her supposed success, angered by her defeat, taking vengeance by conquering her passion and accepting Alphenor. It is her pride which finally prevails and becomes a chief factor in bringing about the *dénouement.* Her sister is less carefully characterized. Love for Anaxandre and obedience to her father furnish her motives. She is a *précieuse* in the concealments and pretences she practises

with regard to her love. In the following lines she suggests Madelon's "aveu qui fait tant de peine:"[1]

> "Ce mot qui ne sort point qu'apres vn grand effort
> D'vn cœur et d'vn esprit où l'amour est bien fort,
> Ce mot si souhaité des ames amoureuses,
> Ce mot qui coûte tant aux filles vertueuses."[2]

Anaxandre is the personification of gallantry. He had formerly been busy conquering provinces in order to return them to their princes. He loves Alcione and flirts with Cephise. When forced to tell the latter that he does not love her, he is careful to make first a sophistical explanation of the origin of love. He appears in earnest only in the last act. Alphenor is the only person in the play who does not conceal or feign emotions. He is a slighter Alcionée, who has been promised a princess, sees her about to be taken from him, and meditates rebellion. The other characters delight in deceiving him. Prodote, the villain of the play, tries to advance his interests by deceiving every one and succeeds in bringing about only his own confusion. The king is a wise, though tricky monarch, one of whose maxims suggests that he was modeled after Du Ryer's Assuerus:

> "Differer le salaire est comme le rauir
> Et c'est à mon aduis apprendre à mal seruir;"[3]

> "Ne pas recompenser, c'est apprendre à trahir."[4]

An occasional comic situation occurs. The tone of the play is less elevated than that of the tragedies, for there is an atmosphere of gallantry and selfishness that is unrelieved by noble emotions. This is the most typical example that Du Ryer affords of the classical tragi-comedy, a form of dramatic composition doomed to failure, for it shows the vagueness and chill of the classic tragedy without its beauty, the weakness and triviality of the tragi-comedy without its variety and picturesqueness. Whether Du Ryer intended to continue writing this sort of play instead of returning to the tragedy remains unknown. His financial success as a dramatist was not sufficient to obviate the necessity of devoting himself to translations, which, after the appearance of this play, occupied exclusively his literary powers.

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[1] *Précieuses ridicules*, 4. [2] II, 2. [3] III, 4. [4] *Esther*, V, 1.

Chapter VI.

A GENERAL CRITICISM.

Although the philosophy expressed in Du Ryer's plays is largely that of any "honnête homme" of his time, and consequently demands little explanation, some of his ideas deserve attention before the general characteristics of his dramatic work are discussed. He believes that the will is usually free to control man's passions and determine his future, but he admits cases in which there is direction by a stronger power. Saül, having sinned too greatly for forgiveness, will be forced irresistibly to further crime and disaster:

> "Vn pouuoir que le mien ne sçauroit ébranler
> M'entraisne auec horreur où j'ay honte d'aller."[1]

Esther is free to save her people or to be destroyed, but in either case they will be saved. According to Anaxandre, the origin of love is outside our power:

> "Lors que le Ciel nous oblige d'aymer,
> Il nous choisit l'obiet qui doit nous enflammer;
> Il le met dans nos cœurs mesme auant que de naistre,
> Et nostre œil le connoist dés qu'il le void paroistre;
> Et quoy qu'on trouue ailleurs de charmant et de doux
> Le choix d'vn autre obiet ne dépend plus de nous."[2]

But, while this love is not created or removed at will, the lover's actions may be directed by reason, or by ambition, patriotism, honor. He may seek arguments that can reconcile his will and his passion, or, not finding them, he may by his will permanently oppose the gratification of his passion. This is what Axiane means when she declares, "si ie ne l'ayme . . . Ie

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[1] *Saül*, III, 2.

[2] *Anaxandre*, IV, 4. Cf. *Dynamis*, IV, 6, "I'ayme par vn effect du Celeste courroux."

cherche les raisons qui peuuent m'y contraindre," and Nitocris in "on peut dompter l'amour quand on veut le dompter."[1] Lydie refuses the low-born Alcionée, though she continues to love him. In *Esther*, *Berenice*, *Themistocle*, and *Nitocris*, the prince or princess is willing to marry a person of inferior rank because of the nobility of his character. The reason must consent before the passion is obeyed.

Du Ryer's attitude towards government is that of a constitutional monarchist. He desires a king only so long as he obeys the laws. *Lucrece*, *Saül*, and *Sceuole* have to do with the overthrow of tyrants. *Alcionée*, though dedicated to Richelieu's niece, has a former rebel for hero. Cleomedon and Alphenor threaten insurrection when the king is about to break his promise to them. When Trasile objects to his sister's receiving advice from her subjects, she replies that she is no tyrant, for,

> "Si les Rois rebutoient tous les libres discours,
> On les perdroit sans doute en les flattant tousiours."[2]

At the same time the plays are full of respect for the wise monarch, "image des Dieux,"[3] and of appreciation of gentle birth. One who is "bien né" is supposed incapable of base deeds,[4] despite frequent examples in the plays that contradict the theory. The bourgeois appear little. When they are the leading characters of a play, in the *Vendanges*, they show a pride in their class that is surprising for the period.[5] The same play insists upon the girl's right to choose her husband:

> "Cette action doit estre aussi libre que sainte;
> La volonté la fait et non pas la contrainte."[6]

Du Ryer endows his "personnages sympathiques" with the orthodox virtues of patriotism, loyalty, justice, domestic fidelity. The cosmopolite and the skeptic[7] are condemned along with the egoist and the traitor. At the same time, he seldom forgets that he is an artist rather than a moralist and does not often take a pious and melodramatic delight in the punishment of his villains.

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[1] *Nitocris*, I, 4, and V, 5.
[2] *Dynamis*, IV, 5.
[3] *Sceuole*, V, 1.
[4] Cf. *Clarigene*, IV, 2; *Themistocle*, III, 3; *Argenis*, II, 1.
[5] Cf. IV, 6, and V, 8. [6] IV, 6.
[7] Cf. *Themistocle*, V, 3, and *Sceuole*, II, 4.

The sources of *Clarigene*, *Alcionée*, *Berenice*, and *Nitocris* are unknown; those of the *Vendanges* and *Anaxandre* are doubtful. The plots of the remaining fourteen plays are taken from three Greek historians, two Greek romancers, Livy, the Bible, and four modern writers of fiction. The preponderance of classical influence is evident. It is still more striking that Du Ryer gets nothing from Spain in an age when few dramatists escaped Spanish influence, and that only one play, *Amarillis*, the pastoral unacknowledged by its author, is based on an Italian work.

For his early plays Du Ryer seeks a story that tells of young lovers, the obstacles they meet, and the manner in which their marriage is brought about. He turns to Achilles Tatius, Eumathius, Plutarch, and the modern Barclay, Audigier, Grotto, d'Urfé. Their narratives furnish him so well the romantic incidents he seeks that, except in the case of *Alcimedon*, he makes few changes apart from those necessitated by the condensation of a novel or the expansion of a brief account into the five acts of a play. But, beginning with the publication of *Lucrece*, he finds facts less important and alters them with greater freedom, according to Corneille's principle that history may be changed, provided the audience is not so familiar with the event that its alteration will be unpleasant. Accordingly he follows history in making Lucrece and Saül take their lives, Esther save her people, and Sceuole burn off his right hand, but he changes the fate of Themistocle and uses the greatest freedom in reconstructing the history of Dynamis.

A more pronounced difference between the early plays and the late is found in the use of romantic and surprising incidents. That favorite support of the melodrama, the recognition, occurs in *Cleomedon* by means of a birth-mark in the form of a laurel wreath; in *Lisandre et Caliste* when the combatants in a duel are unmasked; in *Argenis*, *Clitophon*, and *Clarigene;* but in the later plays it occurs only once.[1] Disguises in costume or name are found in all of the first nine plays and in *Clarigene*. The whole action of this last play depends on mistaken identity. On the other hand, disguise is very subordinate in *Saül* and *Sceuole*, where it is required by the historical source, and is not used in

[1] In the Witch of Endor's recognition of Saül. It seems intentionally avoided in *Sceuole*, when Iunie is informed of her lover's presence in the Etruscan camp before she sees him there.

the other plays published after 1639. Substitution of children occurs in the late *Berenice* as well as in the early *Cleomedon*, but it is only in the early plays that we find a mad hero brought to his senses by hearing his beloved's name,[1] sons fighting unwittingly against their parents,[1] a prince who falls in love with a portrait,[2] *enlèvements*,[3] women fighting in armor,[4] a man disguised as a woman putting a band of ruffians to flight.[5]

Accompanying these sensational actions is the representation on the stage of fighting and death, contrary to the subsequent laws of dramatic propriety. Duelling, assassination, execution are allowed in the early plays even when they could be readily avoided. But in the later plays Lucrece, Alcionée, Saül and his armor-bearer commit suicide, while Haman and the villains in *Dynamis* are removed from the stage before they die, so that the death of Ionathas is the only violation of the classic rule which allows on the stage no other form of death than suicide. Furthermore, with the exception of Marcile's pursuit of Sceuole, all deeds of physical violence in the later plays take place behind the scenes, a trait characteristic even of *Saül*, in which a part of the battlefield is represented. It should be noted that Du Ryer loses little by the regularity of his usage in regard to death, for the objection to the death behind the scenes is not that we are deprived of the spectacle, but that the chief actor is removed from the stage before the end of the play and an anti-climax produced. No such effect is found in Du Ryer: of his six tragedies, three end happily and three in suicide, where the protagonist dies on the stage at the end of the play.

The dominant passion in all the early plays is love. Poliarque abandons his kingdom on account of it; Aretaphile's actions are dictated by her love of Philarque and not, as in Plutarch, by patriotism. But in *Lucrece*, *Clarigene*, and *Alcionée* love, though still important, is less powerful than chastity, justice, and loyalty to the royal caste. In *Saül* sexual love plays a very small part; it is replaced in the hero by patriotism and paternal devotion. In *Sceuole*, *Esther*, and *Themistocle* patriotism is the chief motive. In the last tragi-comedies love again takes the leading position.

[1] *Cleomedon.* [2] *Argenis et Poliarque.*
[3] *Clitophon, Lisandre et Caliste, Argenis et Poliarque, Vendanges.*
[4] *Lisandre et Caliste.*
[5] *Argenis et Poliarque.* It may be added that the dream is seldom used. Its presence in *Saül*, IV, 3, has no effect on the plot.

contending with pride, ambition, and egoism. There is no play from which love is entirely absent, but in those that pay most attention to a study of motive it is used as a subordinate force and is overcome by some unselfish emotion, chiefly patriotism.

Du Ryer's purpose is primarily æsthetic, not moral. The difference between his early and late work is not in the ultimate aim, but in the means of attaining it. His pastoral and his early tragi-comedies amuse by interesting the audience in the fortunes of the lovers. His comedy adds to this a study of manners. His tragedies, written on a higher plane, try chiefly to rouse pity or admiration. *Alcionée* is a tragedy of love and death; *Saül*, more nearly Greek, relates the noble struggle of a sinning mortal against the implacable vengeance of the Divinity. *Lucrece*, *Esther*, *Sceuole*, and *Themistocle* are Cornelian in their endeavor to excite admiration for the deeds of the leading persons. Influenced by these plays, the later tragi-comedies draw their interest now from heroic deeds of sacrifice, now from the events of a love intrigue.

But these plays are moral, though not primarily so. Except occasionally in *Amarillis*[1] and the *Vendanges*,[2] the language is remarkably free from coarseness, even in the treatment of so difficult a subject as the story of Lucrece. Indecent passages in the source of *Clitophon* are omitted. Adultery is condemned in the case of Tarquin, Haman, Nicocrate, Tersandre, and Melite. Aretaphile and Caliste do not gratify their lovers till after their husbands' death. Maxims of virtue and wisdom are freely used, but Du Ryer does not make the mistake of always punishing vice and rewarding virtue. He teaches rather by the creation of strong characters who adhere to noble standards at the cost of happiness or life.

Nowhere is the evolution through which the art of Du Ryer passed more apparent than in his choice of time and place. The events of *Argenis et Poliarque* and its continuation, *Argenis*, cover more than a year.[3] The events of the other early tragi-comedies and of *Cleomedon* require several months. Even in a single act events may occur that stretch over more than twenty-four hours.[4] In *Alcimedon* Du Ryer obeys the twenty-four-hour rule and allows no unfilled periods within an act.

[1] II, 3; IV, 2.
[2] II, 4, 5; III, 3; V, 1, 8.
[3] Cf. *Argenis*, III, 4.
[4] Cf. *Aretaphile*, III; *Argenis*, V.

The *Vendanges* seems to cover several days. *Amarillis*, *Saül*, and *Lucrece* require only twenty-four hours, divided into a night and part of two days. The other plays are so vague in their allusions to time that it is impossible to state exactly the number of hours they need, but apparently twelve is enough for any one of them, while the time that elapses in *Alcionée*, *Scevole*, *Berenice*, *Themistocle*, *Nitocris*, and *Amarillis* seems little more than that necessary to the actual representation of each play.

In his comedy, the *Vendanges*, Du Ryer describes contemporary life near Paris. In *Lisandre et Caliste*, *Cleomedon*, and the beginning of *Argenis et Poliarque* he places the action in France during the middle ages. But he soon comes to believe in the artistic value of distance in space and time, so that, as far as can be determined, his other plays represent foreign countries in the ancient world. Sicily and Mauritania figure in *Argenis;* the environs of Rome, in *Lucrece* and *Scevole;* of Athens, in *Clarigene*. The location of *Anaxandre* is not given; that of *Amarillis* is the pastoral Arcadia. The plots of the nine remaining plays are enacted in the Orient: in Asia Minor, Crete, Cyprus, Egypt, Lybia, Syria, Babylon, and Susa.

The author's ideas of unity in place develop in much the same way as his ideas of unity in time. *Clitophon* introduces three countries; *Argenis et Poliarque* and *Argenis*, two each. The location is so readily altered from one scene to the next that within the first act of *Argenis et Poliarque* it changes from Sicily to France and again to Sicily. The other early plays allow change of place within the act,[1] but they do not extend this usage to a change of country. Each act of *Clitophon*,[2] taken separately, has about the unity of *Aretaphile* and *Cleomedon*, that of a town and a camp situated near it. *Lisandre et Caliste* includes Paris and a "desert" at a considerable distance from the city.

The tendency to restrict the place is carried further in *Alcimedon*, one of the first French plays to observe the rules for unity of time and place as they are understood in the *Cid*. No changes are allowed within the individual acts and the places represented are a house, garden, and forest on one estate. But Du Ryer was not yet ready for a complete acceptance of these unities. *Cleomedon* has already been referred to as violating the unity of the

[1] Cf. *Aretaphile*, III; *Lisandre et Caliste*, I; *Cleomedon*, I.
[2] Cf. the preface to the manuscript of *Clitophon*, cited above.

act and extending the place slightly beyond the limits of a town, the time over several months. In *Amarillis* the twenty-four-hour rule is observed, but the place includes several localities in a large forest and the scene changes from one of them to another within the act.[1] The *Vendanges* violates the rule of twenty-four hours and changes the place within the act.[2] It is only with *Lucrece* that he finally accepts the unities of both place and time.

Some freedom in regard to the place is still allowed, however. The action in *Clarigene* takes place in the senate-house and a space before the house of Licidas. The scene of *Saül*, laid in the environs of Gelboé, includes a tent, a witch's cave, a clump of trees on a battle-field, localities that are so near together that Saül passes from the first to the second during a single scene,[3] and the stage seems to represent a few acres only. *Berenice* includes two houses. *Scevole* requires only a space between two tents. Each of the remaining seven plays has its scene laid in one house. The stage directions are usually too vague to make it certain just how many rooms are represented. *Lucrece* undoubtedly requires two; *Dynamis* and *Alcionée*, probably only one; the others, probably two. In none of these eleven plays is there a change of place within the act except in the instance just cited from *Saül*, where the two places are so close together that it requires little scenic imagination to accept their simultaneous representation.

In short, some of Du Ryer's early plays represent the middle ages or modern times and his own country; some include more than one country and represent events that cover a number of months; most of them allow the change of place within the act. With *Amarillis* he first observes the twenty-four-hour rule. With *Alcimedon* he not only does this, but reduces the scene to a few places near together, and allows no violation of the unity of the act. With *Lucrece* he restricts the scene to two rooms, a usage followed in most of his subsequent plays. In the tragedies and in the tragi-comedies published after 1636 he lays his scene in other countries than France, usually in ancient times, and is strict in preserving the unities of time and place.

The plays show much variation with regard to the unity of action. In all of them there is a person or group of persons in whom the interest of the play centers, but there may also be

[1] Cf. III, 2, 3; IV, 2, 3; V, 1, 2. [2] Cf. I, 2, 3; IV, 3, 4; V, 5, 6. [3] III, 3.

subordinate persons or detached incidents that lessen the unity of the whole. The first five tragi-comedies contain episodes that do not proceed logically one from another. In *Clitophon*, the clearest example of this type of structure, there are five of these episodes, each resulting in the escape of hero or heroine from persons that had not been heard of a few scenes before.[1] Similarly *Alcimedon*, though more carefully written than the plays that precede it, violates the unity of action by an introductory episode. Even so late a play as *Dynamis* is loosely constructed. But in most plays that preserve the unity of time and place this type of violation does not occur.

A more frequent violation of the unity of action lies in the use of the subordinate plot that is unconnected with the main plot. This often results from the introduction of two or more pairs of lovers,[2] of a second woman to console a rejected lover,[3] or of other persons whose actions do not affect the main theme.[4] At times this subordinate plot may be reduced to the dimensions of a single scene, where it is introduced for comic or emotional effect.[5]

In general, Du Ryer shows far greater unity in his tragedies and late tragi-comedies than he does in his early works. *Lucrece*, *Alcionée*, and *Nitocris* are fine examples of a simple, logical structure that admits no external elements. *Saül* and *Sceuole*, with their more complex subjects, unite by a large central theme a number of apparently heterogeneous incidents.

Except in his loosely constructed plays, where independent situations and new characters are encountered throughout the work, the exposition of the plot is confined to the first act and opening scenes of the second, and all important persons are introduced or mentioned in the first act. The protagonist may be on the stage when the curtain rises, as in *Saül*, or his actual appearance may be delayed till the second act, as in *Themistocle*. Even in the loosely built plays the lovers appear in the first act. The exposition is usually made by references to previous events; more rarely it is inferred from the expressed intentions of the actors. The direct references are sometimes carelessly made, in

[1] I, escape from parents; II–III, 2, from those who would sacrifice Lucipe; III, 2–13, from Charmide; IV, from Melite; V, from Tersandre.

[2] Cf. *Amarillis*, *Cleomedon*, *Berenice*.

[3] Cf. *Argenis*.

[4] Cf. Vasthi in *Esther*, Roxane in *Themistocle*.

[5] Cf. *Aretaphile*, II, 5; *Cleomedon*, I, 3; *Themistocle*, I, 2.

monologues[1] and in conversations with persons already possessed of the facts[2] or introduced solely for the sake of having these explanations given them.[3] In other cases the confidence is made naturally, either by the giving of needed information,[4] by scheming[5] and debates[6] which involve statements of fact, or, rarely, by physical action.[7] In three early plays the first part of this exposition takes the form of the monologue, inherited from Seneca and Hardy, but Du Ryer soon adopts the more dramatic dialogue, which he uses in thirteen plays. Elsewhere the opening conversation is made by three persons. This is particularly noteworthy in *Saül.*

In all of the plays except the tragedies and *Nitocris*, the *nœud* is formed by the struggle of the lovers against parents, rivals, and their own jealousy or ignorance. As the lovers do not question their right to love and its gratification, there is usually no problem[8] in their souls. They seek only to escape certain persons and situations that prevent their union. Except in *Argenis et Poliarque*, this love-affair begins before the play does. Its culmination in marriage gives the plays their *dénouements*. The means employed to bring about this solution often resemble the *deus ex machinâ*. In the *Vendanges* an inheritance comes to the lover; in *Lisandre et Caliste* and *Amarillis* remarks are accidentally overheard; in *Clitophon*, *Alcimedon*, *Clarigene*, and *Anaxandre* persons arrive by chance at the right moment; in *Amarillis*, again, there is repentance without sufficient motivation. Similar cases are offered when Cleomedon turns out to be a prince, when Arcombrotte discovers that Argenis is his sister, and when the *qui pro quo* of *Clarigene* is explained. In *Berenice*, also, the *dénouement* is produced by the discovery of relationship, but the work remains united, for it is the events of the play that force the father to reveal his son's identity. In *Aretaphile* and *Dynamis* the *dénouement* is made largely by the lovers' efforts.

In the tragedies and *Nitocris* love is subordinated to what are considered nobler passions. In the other plays Du Ryer appeals chiefly to his audience's romantic instincts, but in these he tries

[1] Cf. *Aretaphile, Argenis, Lisandre et Caliste.*
[2] Cf. *Alcimedon, Berenice, Alcionée, Esther.*
[3] Cf. *Clitophon, Cleomedon, Clarigene, Themistocle.* [4] Cf. *Sceuole.*
[5] Cf. *Argenis et Poliarque, Vendanges, Dynamis, Nitocris.*
[6] Cf. *Amarillis, Lucrece, Saül, Anaxandre.*
[7] Cf. *Lisandre et Caliste.*
[8] But cf. *Clarigene*, IV.

to rouse their admiration or their pity and puts the struggle in the souls of the leading persons. Thus, the rescue of a nation forms the *nœud* of *Esther* and *Sceuole;* patriotism and fidelity are shown in *Nitocris*, *Themistocle*, and *Lucrece*, struggling with sexual love, ambition, or love of life; the hopeless conflict of a guilty but penitent man against the monarchical idea and a hostile Divinity is the subject of *Alcionée* and *Saül*. The *dénouements* of most of these plays result logically from the actions represented in them. The suicides of Lucrece, Saül, and Alcionée are the natural outcome of the situations in which they are placed; the pardon of Sceuole and Themistocle and the rescue of their cities from impending disaster result as naturally from the events of the plays in which they figure and from the characters of Porsenne and Xerces. It is in *Esther* only that the *dénouement* is produced by external means. It may be noticed here that Du Ryer, like Corneille, applied the term tragedy to plays of happy as well as unhappy termination, provided they discussed a lofty theme in a serious manner.

The familiar division into five acts is made in every play, but the unity of the act is not carefully preserved in the early pieces. It has been shown that in them place may change and time elapse between two scenes of an act. It is also true that the acts do not always mark the main divisions of the plot. In *Aretaphile*, for instance, the plan for the murder of Nicocrate is formed in the eleventh scene of the third act and carried out in the fourth act; in *Clarigene* the brother's return occurs in the middle of the fourth act; the accusation of murder is brought against Poliante in *Dynamis*, III, 8, and not at the beginning of an act. But the plays that preserve the unities of time and place allow time to elapse and the scene to shift from one room to another only between the acts. The plays that preserve the unity of action most carefully are those in which the divisions of the plot correspond best with the separate acts.

There are never less than two nor more than thirteen scenes in an act. *Aretaphile* and *Clitophon* contain fifty-eight scenes each, but the other plays average only five to an act with a tendency to increase the number slightly in the last five plays. In *Argenis et Poliarque*[1] and *Alcimedon*[2] entrances take place without creating new scenes. In *Amarillis*,[3] *Lucrece*,[4] and *Dynamis*[5] a person

[1] Cf. II, 1; III, 1; IV, 2. [2] V, 2. [3] I, 2. [4] III, 4. [5] Last scene.

leaves the stage and returns without a change of scene. In almost all other cases the failure to mark the new scene occurs when a person remains on the stage for a brief monologue.[1] In the tragedies, with the exception of the case just referred to from *Lucrece*, this is the only kind of departure from the rule that requires the scene to change as often as does the number of people on the stage. Exits and entrances are often satisfactorily explained, but at times they are insufficiently motivated and seem to occur merely to create a desired situation.

Du Ryer undoubtedly knew the value of a dramatic situation. He never fails, as Garnier did in *Bradamante*, to put the lovers on the stage without the presence of other persons. He leaves his source in order to create the scene between Vasthi and Esther,[2] delays the arrival of information that would prevent the scene between Cephise and Celie,[3] Tarsis and Berenice,[4] Haman and Esther.[5] In his early plays he frequently creates entertaining situations; in his tragedies he strives to show his characters struggling with each other or debating problems in their souls.

The staging of the early plays was elaborate. As a rule, the different places in which the scene was laid were represented simultaneously, but in some instances a locality in the back of the stage appeared in one or two acts and was hidden in the others, while the screen used to conceal it represented a second locality. In *Lisandre et Caliste*, for example, a prison and a butcher's shop, depicted in the back of the stage, are hidden except in the second act by a "fermeture" representing a palace. It was also possible to represent localities placed one above the other, as in *Clitophon*, where there is a mountain with an altar upon it and a prison beneath it. The plays that preserve the unity of place do not show this arrangement, but they seem to allow the back of the stage to open.[6] A glance at Mahelot's *Memoire* shows the varied properties required by the early plays as well as the simple needs of *Sceuole*, which in this respect typifies the tragedies and late tragi-comedies.

Du Ryer lays little stress on local color. His knowledge of geography is inexact, for he places Athens on the sea-shore,

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[1] Cf. *Cleomedon*, II, 4; IV, 1: *Alcionée*, I, 1; II, 3; III, 4, 5; IV, 1: *Saül*, IV, 1: *Sceuole*, II, 4; III, 3: *Themistocle*, V, 2: *Vendanges*, I, 4 and IV, 9: *Dynamis*, III, 1.

[2] *Esther*, III, 3.

[3] *Clarigene*, V, 2.

[4] *Berenice*, V, 2.

[5] *Esther*, III, 5.

[6] Cf. *Clarigene*, IV, 1 and *Nitocris*, III, 4.

Gilboa in Judea, a mountain in the Egyptian Delta, and French flora in Lybia. His treatment of historical manners is not accurate. Even when he preserves the main facts of the history that he treats, he takes his details from the customs of his own time and land. Neither contemporary usage nor the taste of his audience required a more careful handling of historical material.

Du Ryer's treatment of character deserves special attention.[1] Since plays of varied action and picturesque situations usually require a large cast, it is not surprising to find that the first five tragi-comedies average as many as twenty persons besides troops of soldiers, courtiers, and peasants. Later, when the number of episodes is decreased and the characters are studied with greater care, the size of the cast diminishes, averaging ten or eleven in the second group of plays, eight or nine in the tragedies, seven or eight in the last four tragi-comedies. Du Ryer does not restrict the number of persons that may appear on the stage at the same time. He is apt to begin his plays with only two persons visible and end them with most of his persons on the stage. The only play in which the lovers do not appear in the last scene is *Argenis et Poliarque*, the plot of which does not terminate till the end of *Argenis*, its companion tragi-comedy.

There is little development of character, for in the early plays the treatment is superficial, while later, like other classicists, Du Ryer represents each person at a fixed moment of his life. Nevertheless, there are cases in which the characters change. Philarque in *Aretaphile* and Esther grow stronger as greater demands upon them are made. Tirsis in the *Vendanges*, Licidas in *Clarigene*, Cephise in *Anaxandre* forget their selfish interests under the influence of circumstances or the example of other persons. Saül, at first tyrannical and bewildered, gradually attains a clear perception of his situation and a fine capacity for self-sacrifice.

The rank of the leading persons in the tragedies and tragi-comedies is noble. Sovereigns appear in all of them except *Alcimedon* and *Clarigene*. In the case of Themistocle and of Cleodate, the protagonist is not born a noble, but he has been raised to his rank by worthy deeds and the ruler's favor. The

[1] As the individual characters have been discussed with the plays in which they are found, I treat here only the author's general methods of characterization.

minor persons in the tragedies and late tragi-comedies are either noble or attendants upon the nobility, with the exception of the "pythonisse" in *Saül*. The early tragi-comedies admit members of the lower and middle classes, peasants, doctors, a captive, a madman, a jailer, a butcher and his wife, a pilot, but in the leading rôles they have only aristocrats. In the comedy and the pastoral, on the other hand, the chief persons are bourgeois.

The protagonist usually gives his name to the play. In the early plays the leading male character is endowed with physical courage and respect for the heroine's chastity, but he may be weak, deceitful, or forgetful of his duties to his country. There are timid lovers in the comedy and the pastoral, bold ones in some of the tragi-comedies. In short, these early heroes show characteristics of two literary types from which they descend, the lovers of the pastoral novel and those of the chivalric romance. In *Clarigene* and the tragedies the male protagonists show that they feel moral responsibility. They are now characterized not so much by their love and their adventures as by the moral struggle through which they pass. Some[1] are tragic figures, largely responsible for their own afflictions. Others[2] are heroes who win our admiration by their victories over selfish interests. We find here a more careful study of motive and firmer characterizations. In the late tragi-comedies, on the other hand, the hero is subordinated to the heroine, is tested by no serious moral problem, and remains a superficial product of the author's imagination. The heroines of the early plays have no other motive for their actions than love, and seldom exert themselves to influence their own fortunes. Lucrece is the first to encounter a large moral problem. Many of the heroines take a stern delight in conquering their passions; others, like Celie and Esther, are equally faithful to duty and display a less boastful and more generous spirit.

Besides the main rôles, Du Ryer introduces, especially into his tragi-comedies, subordinate lovers and rivals who contribute to the plot by assisting or obstructing the hero and heroine, fill a play that might otherwise seem empty, and throw into relief the more important persons. Their characters vary from the chivalrous Arcombrotte, Celiante, and Arons to the tyrannical

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[1] Cf. Collatin, Alcionée, Saül.

[2] Cf Porsenne, Sceuole, Themistocle.

Nicocrate and the hypocritical Tersandre; from the haughty Vasthi to the sentimental Rodope and the humble Roxane. Several times, especially in the plays where court intrigue is conspicuous, ambition supersedes love as the rival's main motive. So, too, villains are found who are not rivals at all, like the king in *Alcionée* or Tarquin in *Sceuole*.

The fathers form an important class. Though usually imperious and narrow, especially in choosing mates for their children, they at times atone for their severity by a fine sense of right and a passionate devotion to their offspring.[1] Mothers are omitted from most of the plays and are never given rôles of importance. Argire in *Cleomedon* and Mandane in *Themistocle* are more concerned with their own vengeance than they are with maternal emotions. Doripe in the *Vendanges*, despite her farcical character, is more nearly the typical mother.

The rulers are conspicuous. They illustrate the three classes described by Corneille:[2] that of king, concerned with affairs of state; that of man, moved by his own passions and interests; that of judge, who decides the fate of others without mention of his own affairs or those of the state. Some of them have interests of their own and attend to political and judicial affairs as well. The sovereign may be weak, selfish, and criminal, or brave and intelligent. Du Ryer's acceptance of the monarchical system does not make him sacrifice his art in its defense.

Among the subordinate characters should be mentioned the mentor,[3] the friend, servants, heralds, and soldiers. Confidants are introduced into many of the plays to show the audience the facts of the plot or the feelings and purposes of the important persons. Sometimes they have interests of their own that serve to characterize them, but they are usually colorless and parasitic. As the few important events that take place off the stage are ordinarily described to the audience by important persons, the special rôle of messenger is taken only by a few obscure persons, who tell of insignificant events or announce new arrivals.

Finally there are the comic characters, always subordinate, but filling a considerable portion of at least one play, the *Vendanges*. Some are types already seen in the French farce and the Roman comedy. The husband and wife who quarrel over

[1] Cf. Licidas in *Clarigene* and Saul.
[2] Cf. *Examen de Clitandre*.
[3] Brutus, Mardochée.

their daughter's marriage and complain of each other's obstinacy and loquacity are found in the *Vendanges*. The old man in love appears in *Amarillis*. Gros Guillaume, become a butcher in *Lisandre et Caliste*, a cattle-driver in *Amarillis*, a vintager in the *Vendanges*, still retains many characteristics of the Roman parasite. The *fol* in *Argenis* suggests the *miles gloriosus*, and the physician of the same play, with his false diagnosis and professional quarrel, was already a familiar figure on several stages. But it should be noted that the go-between of Roman comedy has largely ceased to be a comic character,[1] that the clever valet is omitted, that the *miles gloriosus* is represented only by a madman, that the Italian pedant does not occur, and that the cuckold is seldom mentioned.[2] Especially important is the fact that Clarinde of *Lisandre et Caliste* and Lisete of the *Vendanges* are two of the first *suivantes* endowed with the modern French spirit rather than that of the classic nurse, her predecessor. In short, the most important comic characters are mainly French products, although characters that resemble them can be found on the Roman and Italian stages.

Apart from witticisms of distinctly comic persons, laughter is produced by situations in which a villain receives the ill-treatment he had intended for another;[3] in which there is a mistake in identity[4] or a misunderstanding of another's intention;[5] by the dress or general appearance of some person;[6] by puns, tricks, lovers' conceits; occasionally by cynical observations concerning women.[7] These comic passages are not found in the tragedies, or to any extent in the late tragi-comedies; they occur in the early tragi-comedies and the pastoral, most largely in the comedy, where alone comic passages and representation of manners occupy a large portion of the play.

The elimination of comic elements from the plays accompanies the concentration in place, time, and number of persons, and the simplification of plot and scenery to which reference has been made. All these qualities are indications of Du Ryer's progress

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[1] Cf. *Argenis et Poliarque* and *Lucrece*; Nerine in *Alcimedon* is the only exception.
[2] *Amarillis*, II, 1; *Lisandre et Caliste*, II, 2.
[3] *Clitophon*, V, 13; *Nitocris*, IV, 2.
[4] *Clarigene*, II, 6: *Alcimedon*, II, 5; III, 2.
[5] *Berenice*, II, 2.
[6] *Aretaphile*, III, 9 and V, 8; *Cleomedon*, V, 2.
[7] *Argenis et Poliarque*, II, 2: *Clitophon*, I, 3; II, 10; IV, 5: *Aretaphile*, IV, 6.

towards classic unity of tone and form. Other evidences of this process are furnished by his treatment of lyric and descriptive passages. With the exception of the prose *Berenice*, all but seven of his plays are written entirely in Alexandrine couplets. In *Clitophon*[1] elegiac stanzas are delivered by the imprisoned hero; in *Argenis et Poliarque*[2] a song and a hymn occur; in the *Vendanges*,[3] a love letter and a drinking song; in *Cleomedon*[4] there is a lover's lament. The chief variety is shown by *Amarillis*,[5] which contains a sonnet, lyric inscriptions and lamentations, a passage with echo responses, and an argument in Alexandrines that do not rime in couplets. The two earliest tragedies contain a brief letter[6] and stanzas devoted to a soliloquy on love and duty.[7] In all of these cases the eight-syllable line is chiefly used, sometimes varied by the addition of six-syllable verses and Alexandrines. No such metrical freedom exists in the tragedies and tragi-comedies published after 1640.

Descriptive passages occur frequently in the early plays. They impede the action without beautifying the verses, for the expressions employed are exaggerated or insipid, the metaphors are commonplace and frequently mixed, color is used rarely and vaguely, the terms are seldom concrete, and there is little impression of actual vision. Du Ryer is far enough from Seneca to escape the sins of excessive classical allusion and misplaced learning, but the affectations of his own day creep into most of his descriptive work. It is not surprising that, as he improves his art, he largely abandons description along with elaborate stage-setting and devotes himself to a soberer and swifter style. So he makes Licidas urge his son to omit the "preface importune"[8] in relating his adventures. Events are described quickly and without embellishment. There is no "récit de Théramène" in his work.

The tragedies and late tragi-comedies are clear, often eloquent, if at times verbose. Never entirely free from *préciosité* and technical carelessness that shows itself in padded lines and conventional rimes and phrases, Du Ryer, by his large study of the classics, did so much to free himself from these faults that M. Reynier[9] can assert with truth that he wrote with a precision

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[1] V, 2. [2] II, 1 and V, 3. [3] III, 2, and V, 2. [4] III, 1.
[5] I, 1; IV, 3 and 4; III, 1.
[6] *Lucrece*, V, 1. [7] *Alcionée*, III, 1. [8] *Clarigene*, IV, 4.
[9] Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue, etc.*, IV, 387.

rare among his contemporaries. Antithesis, which may become paradox, repetition of words, brief comparisons, abstract terms, neat single lines expressing a general truth are characteristic of his style. He possesses the qualities of the orator rather than those of the poet, the swelling phrase, the maxim, the power of generalization, occasionally the subtlety and love of debate. In reading him we can not fail to think of Corneille, whose clearness, vigor, and rapidity he has to a lesser degree, while with him he lacks grace and appeal to the senses.

The likeness to Corneille goes further than these stylistic similarities. Both men were fertile writers who did their best work in French tragedy of the classic type. The *Cid's* combat of love and honor is echoed in *Alcionée*. Du Ryer showed Corneille that religious works and Roman history offer good subjects for tragedy. Celie is required to choose between a brother and a lover, much as is Sabine. Nitocris and Porsenne take counsel after the fashion of Cinna. Proxene resembles Emilie; Lydie, the Infante. Corneille seems to have received from Du Ryer at least one suggestion for the *Cid* and to have given him lines for *Sceuole*.[1] Many other resemblances occur, due not so much to the direct influence of one upon the other as to the fact that they were trying to express in the same dramatic forms the ideas of the same society. Du Ryer remains, of course, distinctly the inferior, but his best piece, *Sceuole*, and parts of *Themistocle*, *Esther*, and *Lucrece* might readily pass for Corneille's own work; there is a unity in *Alcionée* that Corneille does not attain; and none of the latter's unconquered heroes are so profoundly tragic as is Saül.

Du Ryer's direct influence was not large. Racine owes him a few lines in *Andromaque* and suggestions for several passages in *Esther*. Campistron, Zeno, and Metastasio used his *Themistocle;* Nadal his *Saül*. La Rochefoucauld may take one of his best maxims from his *Berenice*. His *suivantes* and his treatment of contemporary manners in the *Vendanges* were probably of some value to Molière. But Du Ryer's permanent influence does not lie here so much as in the substantial work he did in establishing the French classic tragedy. He formed with Corneille, Mairet, Rotrou, Scudéry, Tristan, and a number of others a group of writers who substituted for the sensational tragi-comedies and

[1] Cf., above, pp. 73 and 123.

the sentimental pastorals of Hardy, Théophile, and Gombaud a simple, elevated, and profound type of tragedy, which exercised large influence and remains, not the greatest, but a thoroughly important variety of artistic writing. In spite of Corneille's more lasting value, his fellow-workers were not influenced by him more considerably than he was by them. The credit for the achievement belongs to the group, and in this Du Ryer held a prominent place.

Appendix A.

DU RYER'S PLAYS.

Aretaphile, *tragi-comedie*, first played about 1628, MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Clitophon, *tragi-comedie*, first played about 1628, MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Argenis et Poliarque, *tragi-comedie, premiere iournée*, first played about 1629; permission to print, February 25, 1630; *achevé d'imprimer*, May 10, 1630; Paris, 8°.

Argenis, *tragi-comedie, seconde iournée*, first played about 1629; permission, April 18, 1631; *achevé d'imprimer*, June 15, 1631; Paris, 8°.

Lisandre et Caliste, *tragi-comedie*, first played about 1630; permission, July 20, 1632; *achevé d'imprimer*, August 5, 1632; Paris, 8°.

Amarillis, *pastorale*, probably first played 1631–1633; permission, September 26, 1650; *achevé d'imprimer*, September 22, 1650; Paris, 4°.

Alcimedon, *tragi-comedie*, first played 1632–1633; permission, November 18, 1634; *achevé d'imprimer*, December 28, 1634; Paris, 4°; *ibid.*, 1636,[1] 8°.

Les Vendanges de Suresne, *comedie*, first played about 1633; permission, April 26, 1635; *achevé d'imprimer*, November 16, 1635; Paris, 4°; *ibid.* (1871), 8°, in the second volume of Fournier's *Théâtre français au seizième et au dix-septième siècle.*

Cleomedon, *tragi-comedie*, first called Rossyleon, written at the end of 1633 or the beginning of 1634; first played in February, 1634; permission, December 31, 1635; *achevé d'imprimer*, February 21, 1636; Paris, 8°; *ibid.*, 1637, 4°; *ibid.*, 1638, 4°.

Lucrece, *tragedie*, first played about 1636; permission, May 21, 1638; *achevé d'imprimer*, July 20, 1638; Paris, 4°.

Alcionée, *tragedie*, probably first played early in 1637; permission, April 13, 1640; *achevé d'imprimer*, April 26, 1640; Paris, 4°; *ibid.*, 1640, 8°; *ibid.*, 1655,[2] 8°; *ibid.*, 1705, 8°, in the second volume of *Théatre françois ou Recüeil des meilleures Pieces du Théatre des Anciens Auteurs;* Paris, 1737, 12°, in the third volume of *Théâtre françois ou Recueil des meilleures pièces de théâtre.*

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[1] The copy in the Harvard library with a torn title-page, dated in the catalogue 1635, is probably the same edition as this.

[2] Cf. Philipp, *Pierre Du Ryers Leben und dramatische Werke*, 49.

CLARIGENE, *tragi-comedie*, first played 1637–1638; permission, February 8, 1639; *achevé d'imprimer*, May 23, 1639; Paris, 4°.

SAÜL, *tragedie*, first played 1639–1640; permission, April 18, 1642; *achevé d'imprimer*, May 31, 1642; Paris, 4°; *ibid.*, 1705, 8°, in the first volume of *Théatre françois, etc.;* Paris, 1737, 12°, in the third volume of *Théâtre françois, etc.*

ESTHER, *tragedie*, first played about 1642; permission, July 15, 1643; *achevé d'imprimer*, March 30, 1644; Paris, 4°; *ibid.*, 1737, 12°, in the third volume of *Théâtre françois, etc.*

SCEUOLE, *tragedie*, first played about 1644; permission, August 31, 1646; *achevé d'imprimer*, January 2, 1647; Paris, 4°; Leyden (Elzevirs), 1654, 12°; Paris, 1688, 12°; *ibid.*, 1705, 8°, in the second volume of *Théatre françois, etc.;* Paris, 1718, 12°; *ibid.*, 1737, 12°, in the third volume of *Théâtre françois, etc.;* Geneva, 1767, 8°, in the fourth volume of *Théâtre français, etc.;* Paris, 1773, 4°, in Marmontel's edition of the *Chefs d'œuvre du Théâtre français;* Paris, 1783, 8°, in *Petite Bibliothèque des théâtres.*

BERENICE, *tragi-comedie*, first played about 1644; Paris, 1645, 4°. (The dates of the permission and *achevé d'imprimer* are not given.)

THEMISTOCLE, *tragedie*, first played at the end of 1646 or the beginning of 1647; permission, February 5, 1648; *achevé d'imprimer*, March 20, 1648; Paris, 4°; Leyden (Elzevirs), 1649, 12°; Lyons, 1654, 8°; Paris, 1705, 8°, in the third volume of *Théâtre françois, etc.;* Paris, 1737, 12°, in the third volume of *Théâtre françois, etc.*

NITOCRIS, *tragi-comedie*, first played about 1648; permission, November 10, 1649; *achevé d'imprimer*, January 28, 1650; Paris, 4°; Leyden (Elzevirs), 1650, 12°.

DYNAMIS, *tragi-comedie*, first played about 1649; permission, August 26, 1650; *achevé d'imprimer*, December 28, 1652; Paris, 4°.

ANAXANDRE, *tragi-comedie*, written in 1653; probably first played 1653–1654; permission, January 22, 1655; *achevé d'imprimer*, March 26, 1655; Paris, 4°; Amsterdam, 1658, 8°.[1]

[1] At the end of the list of Du Ryer's plays given by the *Mercure*, July 18, 1721, we read the following: "Alexandre, Tragedie; Tarquin, tragedie; les Captifs, comedie; Anaxandre, sa derniere Piece; Cleophon et Lucipe, Tragedie; Clitophon, Tragedie; ces deux dernieres Pieces n'ont pas vû le jour." Now with the exception of *Clitophon* and *Anaxandre*, both tragi-comedies, none of these plays are mentioned by Du Ryer's contemporaries. The passage is vague and full of errors. *Cleophon et Lucipe* is evidently the same as *Clitophon; Alexandre* is probably intended for *Anaxandre; Tarquin* for *Lucrece;* the *Captifs* for the translation of Plautus's play by Rotrou.

Appendix B.

DU RYER'S TRANSLATIONS.

Salvianus, *Traitté de la Prouidence de Dieu*, Paris, 1634,[1] 8°.

Cicero:

Pour le Roy Deiotarus and *Pour la Paix*, in *Huit Oraisons de Ciceron*,[2] Paris, 1638, 4°; *ibid.*, 1639, 12°; *ibid.*, 1641, 12°; *ibid.*, 1644, 12°; *ibid.*, 1648, 12°; *ibid.*, 1653, 12°.

Les Philippiques, Paris, 1639,[3] 4°; *ibid.*, 1640, 12°; *ibid.*, 1646, 12°; *ibid.*, 1647, 12°.

Les Paradoxes, before October 8, 1641.[4]

Les Offices ou les Deuoirs de la vie ciuile, Paris, 1641,[5] 4°; *ibid.*, 1646, 12°; *ibid.*, 1663, 12°; *ibid.*, 1666, 8°; Lyons, 1687, 12°.

Contre L. Catilina (first 3 orations), Paris, 1641,[5] 12°; *ibid.*, 1652, 12°.

Les Tusculanes, Paris, 1643,[6] 12°; *ibid.*, 1655, 12°.

Pour A. Cluentius Auitus, contre P. Seruilius Rullus (three orations), *Pour C. Rabirius, Pour L. Flaccus, Pour P. Cornelius Sylla, Pour L. Cornelius Balbus, Contre L. Calpurnius Pison, pour T. Annius Milon, pour C. Rabirius Postumus, Au Peuple, Pour S. Roscius d'Amerie, Pour Q. Roscius comedien, Pour M. Fonteius, Pour A. Cecinna, Apres son retour au Senat, Pour sa maison, Touchant les Deuins, Pour Plancius*, Paris, 1650,[7] 5 vols., 12°.

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[1] Privilege, December 9, 1633.

[2] The table of contents, written by hand, assigns to Du Ryer the *Deiotarus* and the fourth oration against Catiline, to Giry the *Pour la Paix;* but the publisher on page 196 states that the latter play and *Deiotarus* are by the same translator, while in the preface to *Les Oraisons de Ciceron contre L. Catilina*, Paris, 1641, he says, "Ie vous auois desia donné la quatriesme Oraison de Ciceron contre Catilina de la traduction de Monsieur Giry." Moreover, Pellisson attributes to Du Ryer *Deiotarus, la Paix*, and only three *Catilinaires*. It is evident that the table of contents is at fault. Cf., also, Goujet, *Bibliothèque*, II, 227; Chapelain, letter to Balzac, May 10, 1638, *Lettres* (edition of Tamizey de Larroque) I, 235. The date of this letter shows that the book was published in the first part of the year. In a letter of June 6, Chapelain states that, of the four authors who made these translations, he prefers d'Ablancourt and Patru, *op. cit.*, I, 247.

[3] Privilege, December 23, 1638.

[4] I have been unable to find any edition of this work earlier than 1670, but one must have appeared before 1641, for Du Ryer states in the preface, reprinted in the edition of 1670, "je vous donne ce petit ouvrage en attendant que je vous en donne un plus grand, je veux dire les Offices de Ciceron." Pellisson in 1653 mentions the *Paradoxes* as one of Du Ryer's translations; cf. *Histoire de l'Academie Françoise*, Paris, 1653, p. 555.

[5] Privilege, September 30, 1640; *achevé d'imprimer*, October 8, 1641; title-page, 1646.

[6] Privilege, September 30, 1640.

[7] The permission to print all of these orations and the four immediately following was given September 7, 1640.

CICERO—continued.

Pour P. Sextius, contre Vatinius, Pour M. Celius Rufus, Touchant les prouinces consulaires, Paris, 1651, 12°.

Du meilleur genre d'orateurs et l'oraison pour Murena, Paris, 1654, 12°.

De la nature des Dieux, Paris, 1657,[1] 12°.

All these translations were reprinted in *Œuures de Ciceron de la traduction de Du Ryer*, Paris, 1670, 12 vols., 12°.[2]

ISOCRATES, *De la louange de Busire*,[3] Paris, 1640, 12°.

STRADA, *Histoire de la Guerre de Flandre*, Paris, 1644,[4] f° (first decade), and *ibid.*, 1649, f° (second decade); Paris, 1650 and 1651, f° (first decade), and *ibid.*, 1652, f° (second decade); Paris, 1652, 8° (two decades in one volume); Paris, 1659, f° (first decade) and Paris, 1661, f° (second decade); Grenoble, 1663, 3 vols., 12°; Paris, 1665, 2 vols., 8°; *ibid.*, 1675, 4 vols., 12°; Antwerp, 1705, 3 vols., 12°; Brussels, 1706, 3 vols., 12°; Paris, 1712, 3 vols., 12°[5]; Brussels, 1727, 4 vols.,[6] 12°; *ibid.*, 1739, 4 vols.,[6] 12°.

ANTONIO, PRIOR OF CRATO, *Les Pseaumes de D. Antoine roy de Portugal*, Paris, 1645, 12°[7]; Paris, 1657, 12°; Paris, 1667, 12°.

HERODOTUS, *Les Histoires*, Paris, 1645,[8] f°; *ibid.*, 1658, f°; *ibid.*, 1660, 2 vols., 12°; *ibid.*, 1665, 3 vols., 12°[5]; *ibid.*, 1677, 3 vols., 8°; *ibid.*, 1713, 3 vols., 12°; *ibid.*, 1733, 3 vols., 8°.[5]

FREINSHEIM, *Supplement à Quinte Curce*, Paris, 1647[9], 4°; *ibid.*, 1653, 4°; *ibid.*, 1655,[5] 4°; *ibid.*, 1659, 4°; Amsterdam, 1665, 8°; Paris, 1668, 12°; *ibid.*, 1681, 12°; Amsterdam, 1684, 8°; *ibid.*, 1696, 8°; The Hague, 1727, 2 vols., 12°; Berlin, 1746[10]; Amsterdam, 1747, 2 vols., 12°.

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[1] Privilege, September 30, 1640.

[2] This work includes reprints of seven other translations, falsely attributed to Du Ryer by the publishers. They are *La Rhetorique de Ciceron*, Paris, 1652, by le sieur Iacob; *Les Epistres familieres de Ciceron*, Paris, 1663, by I. Godouin; *Lettres de Brutus et de Ciceron*, Paris, 1663, by Antoine Soreau; *La Consolation de Ciceron sur la mort de sa fille Tullia*, Paris, 1644, by E. B.; *Dialogue de la Vieillesse et de l'Amitié*, Paris, 1651, by Claveret; *Des Orateurs illustres*, Paris, 1652, by L. Giry; *Le Songe de Scipion*, published in *Petites traductions nouuelles*, Paris, 1661, by Is. M. Since 1670, Du Ryer's biographers have assumed that he was the author of these translations. Cf., for instance, Goujet, *Bibliothèque*, I, 329, and Philipp, *Pierre Du Ryers Leben*, 14.

[3] This work, published anonymously with Giry's translation of the *Louange d'Helene*, is attributed to Du Ryer by Pellisson, *Histoire de l'Academie Françoise*, Paris, 1653, p. 555, and Goujet, *op. cit.*, II, 205. Privilege, October 27, 1639.

[4] Privilege, January 31, 1642.

[5] Cf. Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares*, Dresden, 1859–1869.

[6] The title is changed to *Histoire de la guerre des Pays-Bas*.

[7] This edition is mentioned by d'Olivet and Moréri. There must have been an edition earlier than 1657, as the work is referred to by Pellisson, *loc. cit.* Silva, *Diccionario bibliographico Portuguez*, Lisbon, 1867, VIII, p. 73, mentions an edition printed "suivant la copie imprimée à Paris (Hollanda por 1646) 16°."

[8] Privilege, February 20, 1643.

[9] The translation of Quintus Curtius is by Vaugelas, that of the supplement by Du Ryer. The privilege is June 25, 1646. This first edition is mentioned by d'Olivet and Moréri.

[10] Cf. Brunet for this edition.

SENECA:

Suitte des Epistres,[1] Paris, 1647, 12°; *ibid.*, 1648, 4°; *ibid.*, 1654, 12°.

Consolations, Paris, 1650, 12°; *ibid.*, 1660, 12°.

De la Colere, Paris, 1651, 12°; Rouen, 1661, 12°.

De la Clemence, Paris, 1651, 12°; 1659, 12°.

De la Prouidence de Dieu, Paris, 1651, 12°; *ibid.*, 1658, 12°.

Du Repos et de la tranquillité de l'ame, de la constance du sage, et de la briefueté de la vie, Paris, 1651, 12°; *ibid.*, 1657, 12°.

Des Questions naturelles, Paris, 1651, 2 vols., 12°; *ibid.*, 1659, 12°.

All these translations of Seneca were republished together with those by Malherbe as *Œuures de Seneque*, Paris, 1658, 1659,[2] 2 vols., f°; Lyons, 1663, 10 vols., 12°; Paris, 1669, 14 vols., 12°.

SULPICIUS SEVERUS, *La vie de Saint Martin*, Paris, 1650, 12°.[3]

LIVY, *Les Decades auec les supplements de I. Freinshemius*, Paris, 1653,[4] 2 vols., f°; *ibid.*, 1669, 14 vols., 12°; Amsterdam, 1696,[5] 8 vols., 12°; *ibid.*, 1700, 8 vols.,[6] 12°; Rouen, 1722, 8 vols., 12°.

POLYBIUS, *Les Histoires*, Paris, 1655,[7] f°; *ibid.*, 1669, 1670, 3 vols., 12°.

OVID, *Les Metamorphoses*, Paris, 1655, 2 vols., 4°;[8] *ibid.*, 1660, f°; *ibid.*, 1666, 8°; Paris, 1676, 3 vols., 8°[5]; Brussels, 1677, f°; Paris, 1680, 3 vols., 8°[5]; Amsterdam, 1693, 3 vols., 12°[5]; *ibid.*, 1702, f°; Paris, 1704, 3 vols., 12°[5]; The Hague, 1728, 2 vols., 12°; *ibid.*, *idem*, f°[5]; *ibid.*, 1744, 4 vols., 8°.

DE THOU, *Histoire* (first fifty-seven books), Paris, 1658, 1659,[9] 3 vols., f°.

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[1] Malherbe had translated letters I–XCI; Du Ryer completed the collection with letters XCII–CXXIV.

[2] Goujet, *Bibliothèque*, II, 244, dates this edition 1656.

[3] Privilege, November 17, 1649. [4] Privilege, September 10, 1646.

[5] Cf. Graesse, *Trésor*. [6] Also bound in 5 volumes. [7] Privilege, June 14.

[8] Cf. Goujet, *op. cit.*, VI, 46, and Graesse, *op. cit.* [9] Privilege, January 19, 1654.

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[1] This Index contains the names of all books and persons mentioned in the volume except those of characters in the plays and their sources.

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